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ABSTRACT

Elementary school students were interviewed with the goal of determining characteristics and behavioral patterns they considered appropriate for one sex or the other in participation in sports. Children from kindergarten through the sixth grade were examined and compared by grade, sex, and race in their gender-related attitudes. The instrument used in this study is replicated in this report, and question responses are presented in tabular form. Gender-related attitudes were found across all grade levels. (JD)

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SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING IN ATTITUDES OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN TOWARD PARTICIPATION IN SPORTS ACTIVITIES

by

Patricia Lou Geadelmann

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of Physical Education for
Women in the Graduate College of
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December, 1974

Thesis supervisor: Assistant Professor N. Peggy Burke

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MASTER'S THESIS

This is to certify that the Master's thesis of

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has been approved by the Examining Committee for the thesis requirement for the Master of Arts degree in the Department of Physical Education for Women at the December, 1974 graduation.

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DEDICATED

TO

THE PRINCIPLE OF FREEDOM

That each person might be

allowed to grow:

Free to Be

WITH GRATITUDE

TO

MY PARENTS

For allowing me

to

Become

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INTRODUCTION

The issues surrounding the women's movement in today's society have had a substantial impact on most of the members of the adult population. That impact may or may not have had personal implications, may or may not have involved personal participation. Nevertheless, the awareness of society as a whole has at least been raised about the issues of sex discrimination and sex role stereotyping. The increasing number of legal actions charging discrimination in such areas of employment as hiring, salary, promotion, and fringe benefits, and the settlement of a number of these in favor of the women bringing the charges, constitute a major source of consciousness-raising among the population. The interests, needs, and rights of women have been further recognized with changes in legal codes by state legislatures. Laws prohibiting discrimination by sex in credit, housing, and inheritance tax are among the most recent changes. Rape laws have been another area of revision.

The organization of women's groups such as the National Women's Political Caucus (with all its state and local caucuses), the Women's Equity Action League, the National Organization for Women, Commissions on the Status of Women, and the National Federated Business and Professional Women's Club have been largely responsible for successful lobbying and court case efforts to change laws which are in fact discriminatory toward one sex. Increased involvement of the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Association of University Women has also been a significant factor. In legal terms, the efforts of these groups have been highly successful.

A change in law, however, does not result in a change in attitude. We have seen over the years that the attitudes which reflect values and practices of a culture are slowest to change. New technology simplifies and economizes mass production, but the attitudes and values of the Protestant work ethic resist the impersonality and lack of individual craft in production. Similar resistance has accompanied technological innovations within the school systems. As a consequence of the cultural lag between those advances we as a society can make externally in terms of structure and function and the internal changes that such advances necessitate, we have not seen a marked change in the attitudes of society toward women's participation in nontraditional roles and behaviors.

A challenge to traditions that have been the basis for societal structure is real and present in our society today, but the counter to that challenge is present as well. The question of sex roles, sex differences, and the sources of these differences evokes considerable controversy, much of it on an emotional level that has been raised due to threats to that which has for so long been accepted practice. And so, apart from laws, we have the critical questions surrounding appropriate behaviors and roles for one sex or the other. Why should girls wear dresses? Why is it not as acceptable for a girl to ask a boy to prom? Why do we expect that girls will be nurses frequently and doctors rarely?

The questions are endless. We know that many of these questions have at least confronted the adult population. We do not know what influence their responses to these questions individually and collectively have had on the young children in the schools and in the homes. Nor do we know the influence these questions may have had directly on children as they may have answered the questions themselves.

There is a new focus today on equality of opportunity and the development of all human potential. The basic concept of clearly differentiated sex roles within the nuclear family is no longer universally acceptable or appropriate. Beyond the resolution of inequities and discrimination by our judicial system are the crucial and as yet unresolved questions for societal structure. We have not, as a culture, determined what it is we wish to perpetuate in this present midst of change. Some indication of that which might transpire may be evident as we view the patterns of attitudes of elementary school children toward a particular social aspect.

This study focused on sex role stereotyping as evidenced in attitudes toward participation in sports activities. There is little doubt about the central place sports play in our society, both through observation and participation. Once largely ascribed to the male population, sports and recreation activities are now being opened to girls and women at all levels: school, community, university, and professional. In many respects the woman sports participant assumes a role that once was thought "unfeminine." The nature of attitudes of elementary school children toward participation in sports activities provides an interesting picture of the status of men and women, boys and girls in this central aspect of our society.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The purposes of this study were:

1. To examine and compare by grade, sex, and race the gender related attitudes of elementary school children (K-6) toward the acceptability of participation in sports activities.
2. To examine and compare by grade, sex, and race the gender related attitudes of elementary school children (K-6) in terms of expectations of individuals participating in sports activities.
3. To examine and compare the stated reasons for responses given as they reflect gender related attitudes about the acceptability of participation in sports activities and the expectations of individuals participating in sports activities.

Definitions

1. Attitudes--verbalized expressions of the individual's reaction to a given situation

representing cognitive and emotional influences at the time of response.

2. Sex Differences--characteristics or qualities specific to one sex or the other in varying degrees assigned or concluded as the result of research studies. (These characteristics may or may not be innate or biologically based, or may or may not be a result of the perpetuation of stereotyped behaviors.)
3. Sex Stereotyping--assignment of psychological characteristics and behavioral patterns socially defined as appropriate for one sex or the other.

Assumption

The assumption is made that the attitudes of elementary school children can in fact be measured via the design of this study.

Limitations

The limitations of this study are as follows:

1. The study will be conducted by a female. Although the same individual will do all of the interviewing, making the sex of the interviewer constant, some students may respond differently than if a male were asking the questions.

2. The sample will consist of intact groups of pupils at Malcolm Price Laboratory School where the researcher is a teacher. Some responses may be influenced by either direct or indirect knowledge of the researcher's feelings on particular issues.
3. The sample is not drawn from a population that necessarily typifies the general population.
4. The qualitative aspect of the study, derived from responses given to the question of "why" particular answers were given, can only be viewed as a possible indication of attitude influence or source.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

The literature was surveyed in a number of related areas to attempt to establish a background base for interpretation and understanding of the kinds of responses received from the subjects interviewed in this study. The review included here will begin with an overview of the research done in the area of sex differences. The purpose is to explore the nature and extent of pre-existing sex differences, which therefore might result in response differences for this particular study. The review will then move to sex role perceptions expressed by persons of various ages. The expression of a sex role preference or an attitude about appropriate sex roles may represent a sex difference or it may be the perpetuation of a stereotypical view. Much of the research is rather vaguely defined in terms of sex differences and sex stereotyping. Finally, the literature will be reviewed as it reflects the presence of sex stereotyping in various aspects of our society.

Sex Differences

The research on sex differences is somewhat conflicting, and the conclusions are sometimes questionable. Results can only be interpreted as a portrayal of the similarities or differences between the sexes as they existed at a particular time in a particular situation. One needs to be careful to limit the implications of the research to describing behavior patterns current to the time of the study, without attributing the source of those patterns singularly to biology, social learning, or some other origin.

We do not know how much these differences may have been a result of acculturation or how much these differences may have been exaggerated by the social influences regarding appropriate role behaviors. We can only say that under the conditions of the research design at that particular point in society, there appeared to be the given similarities or differences between the sexes.

We are a polarized society in terms of sex differentiation. This is obvious from the moment of birth when our first questions becomes, "Is it a boy or girl?" rather than, "Is it a healthy baby?" Lewis (55) reported that in infants studied at twelve weeks, girls were looked at and talked to more than boys. Goldberg and Lewis (24) reported that mothers not only continued to talk to girls at the age of six months more than boys, but touched them more as well. They reported that girls at thirteen months seemed to be more dependent, less exploratory, and more quiet in their play while boys were more independent, more exploratory, and more vigorous in play, enjoying toys that required gross motor activity. Goldberg and Lewis (24) did not report the sex differences in toy preferences to be significant, but did state that the boys' play was significantly more vigorous than that of the girls. When placed from their mothers' laps to the floor, the girls were more reluctant to leave the mother at first; significantly more girls than boys returned to the mother immediately. When a barrier was placed between the mother and toys and the child, girls cried and motioned for help more while staying in the center of the barrier. Boys, on the other hand, tended to move to the edges of the barrier. In contrast, Maccoby and Jacklin (60) did not find that year-old girls became immobile under threat; nor did they find sex differences in "need" to be near the mother.

Jacklin, Maccoby, and Dick (40) have also studied the year-old child. While they did not find significant differences in toy preferences, girls spent more time with cuddly toys, while boys showed a preference for robots. These choices were not overtly influenced by the mother.

In another study of the play behavior of the year-old child, Messer and Lewis (65) compared the sexes according to social class. No significant differences were found between the sexes for toy preferences in the lower class. Middle class girls, however, played significantly more with blocks, while boys banged more toys. Middle class boys played with non-toys significantly more than girls. In addition, middle class girls played significantly more with an inflated plastic cat and a stuffed dog than did the boys. In other variables examined, middle class girls showed more physical, vocal, and visual contact with the mother than did the lower class girls. The lower class girls, however, returned to the mother in less time and with greater frequency, as well as spent more time touching the mother.

Lewis (55) further noted that in infants studied at twelve weeks, six months, and thirteen months, objects in the environment were pointed out to boys sooner than to girls.

There is no direct accounting for the differences discussed thus far. Lewis (55) labeled most behavior as socializing, what the parent does to the infant, the infant is likely to do back. Kagan (43), however, made the assumption that the earlier a particular behavioral difference appeared in the life cycle, the more likely it was an influence of biological factors. He was inclined to believe that biological differences were responsible, but he went on to say that these biological differences should not place serious constraints on the vocational and social roles assumed by men and women.

Another strong advocate of the social learning view of sex differences was Mischel (72). He maintained that the appropriateness of behaviors for each sex change with the situation and age level. He noted that studies in which sex differences were studied by means of self-report or self-description did not necessarily correspond to those in which sex differences were studied via overt behavior. He concluded that boys may be less willing to report "unmanly" feelings, and that girls may be less willing to report "impulsiveness."

Kohlberg (47) presented still another view of sex differences. Based on Piaget's theory that a child's cognitive organization of both the social and physical world changes with age, he maintained that the critical and basic organizer of sex role attitudes was in the cognitive self-categorization of "boy" or "girl." Primarily on the basis of his own unpublished research, Kohlberg discounted parental role behavior, social class, and race as having any significant influences on the child's sex role stereotypes. Instead, he attributed the body differences and the visible differences in sex assignment of social roles as the basis for sex role stereotypes.

Other theories about sex differences have been discussed by Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith (83). The theories included that of the comparative psychologists whose work has been dependent on research involving the hormonal and genetic influences with animals; the psychoanalysts who have based their work on Freud's concepts of penis envy, castration anxiety, and the Oedipal complex; the sociologists whose focus has been on group interaction, particularly within the family structure; and the anthropologists who have examined the necessary behaviors that must be present to continue the society.

Research on sex differences beyond infancy continues to be conflicting, and again without a direct relationship to a particular origin, although as the subjects studied become older their behavior appears to become more and more a product of their environment. This trend suggests to this writer support for the social learning theory.

Much of the research involving subjects old enough to manage some sort of task for measurement, as opposed to merely being observed as with the infants, has focused on the concepts of masculinity and femininity.

Brown (10) developed the IT Scale for Children in 1956 to measure masculinity-femininity characteristics. In testing children in grades kindergarten through five, he found that at the kindergarten level twice as many girls as boys projected a preference for a parental role of the opposite sex. The median difference between boys and girls in grades one through three was small, indicating that many girls in these grades scored very masculine. There was a marked change at the fifth grade level for the girls toward a greater femininity preference. In contrast to Brown's conclusions, Lefkowitz (50) concluded from his study that girls have about as much preference for the feminine sex role as boys have for the masculine sex role. Sutton-Smith et. al. (104) also have provided data discounting the fifth and sixth grades as turning points toward greater femininity.

A repeat of Brown's study with the IT Scale was done by Hartup and Zook (32, 122) utilizing three and four year old children. The majority of their data was similar to the findings for older children, in that boys more strongly preferred the stereotyped male role than girls preferred the stereotyped female role. The findings implied that the acquisition of sex role preferences was less complicated developmentally for the male than it was for the female. This has been a conclusion of other researchers as well (38, 56, 58, 97).

Even though IT was a stick drawing and was not structured for sexual identity, Brown (11) concluded after extensive research that in our traditionally masculine-oriented culture, any figure not specifically structured as female will tend to be seen as male. He pointed to some of the masculine orientation in our culture by noting that man refers both to the male sex and to both sexes generically, girls are allowed to dress and look like boys in our culture but the reverse is not acceptable, and the instructions for the Goodenough-Draw-A-Man-Test ask for a man, as opposed to a person, to be drawn.

Endslay (16) studied the effects of concealing IT in a testing session with preschool children and found no significant differences in the degree of masculine response, which further reinforced the concept of a masculine-oriented culture.

As stated earlier, play behavior has been a common area of study for sex differences in children. Parten (76) studied the play of preschool children and noted that the tendency to form single sex play groups increased from 62 per cent at age two to 79 per cent at age five. The first five playmates of girls were other girls 81 per cent of the time; boys chose other boys only 62 per cent of the time. The early tendency to form unisex groups has acted as a role-reinforcer at a young age. The analysis of the play activities reflected interests typically associated with girls (house, swings, paper, beads, and paints) and with boys (trains, kiddie cars, and blocks). Note, however, that in a study mentioned earlier by Messer and Lewis (1972), girls played significantly more with blocks.

Brian Sutton-Smith, alone (101), and in collaboration with others (80, 82, 102, 103, 104), has done extensive research on activity preferences and game involvement of the sexes. In a study of game preferences (103), fourth, fifth, and sixth grade girls in 1959 were found to be substantially more like boys in their game choices than in 1921. There were still significant differences in some responses, however. Boys preferred football, marbles, and wrestling, while dance, dolls, Drop the Handkerchief, Fox and Geese, hopscotch, house, jacks, jump rope, leap frog, and puzzles were all preferred by the girls. During this time period girls showed an increased interest and participation in sport, but they did not adopt the warrior-like activities of the boys. There was some speculation that this might represent an avoidance by boys of any games not obviously masculine in an attempt to clarify their own identity. Girls also seemed to be playing more active games at earlier ages. On the whole, there seemed to be an increasing preference of children for informal group activities.

In further study, Sutton-Smith et. al. (82, 104) labeled game preferences to develop masculinity-femininity scales. This study was first published in 1963 and consisted of subjects in grades three through six. It was revalidated in a study published in 1964 to reflect shifts in preferences, most of which came from the girls. At the third grade level there were about the same number of items favored by each sex, but at the fourth grade level girls became more responsive, favoring more items than the boys, masculine as well as feminine. There seemed to be evidence that the fourth grade was one of peak anxiety for the girls in terms of sex role confusion, related to perceptions of "tomboy" versus "little lady." There were some items for which girls showed increasing preference with grade at the same time boys showed decreasing preference with grade. This was true for both playing bandits and cowboys. The data did not show a turning point at the fifth grade level toward greater femininity. In fact, both boys and girls showed decreasing preference for feminine items at the fifth and sixth grade levels.

In still another study of sex differences in games, Sutton-Smith (101) concluded that girls were inclined to prefer games of chance and games of strategy while boys were inclined to prefer games of physical skill. In three survey polls with adults in 1940 and 1948, Sutton-Smith, Roberts, and Kozelka (102) verified these preferences in adult females and males. The high achievement training given boys by our culture was pointed to as a key factor for boys' preference of physical skill activities. Girls who won were characterized as hyperactive, impulsive, aggressive, and masculine in choice of play activities. Girls who won also had past experiences of receiving more severe penalties from their mothers; the mother thus provided an aggressive role model. Winning boys were largely independent of their mothers. Girls inclined to play to a draw or tie preferred feminine games, while boys inclined to play to a draw or tie were late maturers seeking adult approval.

Two other studies of play activity preferences of children were done by Orloske (74) and Thomas (105). The Orloske study involved 701 elementary school students from six to twelve years of age. He found that as the children got older, the types of game activities increased in number as well as became more highly organized. Activities specific to boys in popularity were rollerskating, football, and baseball. Sidewalk games, original games, social dancing, and jump rope were specific to the girls in popularity. Both sexes expressed a liking for tumbling, playground equipment, bicycling, basketball, soccer, and tag games. Girls preferred playing at home more than away; boys preferred playing away from home. Thomas administered a questionnaire to 175 fifth grade boys and girls. The most striking results were the expressions of dislike by 82 per cent of the girls for running activities and by 76 per cent of the boys for rhythmic activities. The reason for dislike in 20 per cent of these cases was associated with sex inappropriateness of the activity.

Dramatic play situations have been another means of studying sex differences in girls and boys. Gregory Stone (100) saw dramatic play as an avenue for establishing sex-identity in the child. He noted that girls seemed to engage in this more then boys, and thus began to prepare for adulthood earlier than boys by having an accurate role model with the mother present to imitate. The dramatic play of boys tended to show more fantasy depicting male roles.

Erik Erikson (18) studied play configurations developed by eleven, twelve, and thirteen year-old girls and boys given blocks, toy furniture, dolls, cars, and animals. The task was to create an imaginary motion picture scene. Erikson considered the blocks impersonal and free of cultural connotations, and thus found the differences in the numbers of blocks used as well as the kinds of configurations to be particularly striking. Boys used more blocks in more varied ways. The girls tended to build quiet scenes of everyday life within a house or school, while boys had more buildings and outdoor scenes with animals, Indians, and automobile accidents. One of the most significant sex differences was in the tendency of the boys to erect structures, buildings and towers, or streets in contrast to the girls using the play table as the interior of a home and making little or no use of blocks. Significant differences in use of play space were reflected by the boys' use of height, downfall, and motion; girls created static interiors which were open, simply enclosed, or blocked.

Doll play has been another means of studying dramatic play. Levin and Wardwell (51) noted that the best documented finding using this technique was that boys are more aggressive than girls. They further noted that girls show more stereotyped behavior than boys, attributing this to greater inventiveness of young boys. The stereotyping did decrease from session to session in their research, however.

Seagoe (89) studied children's play cross-culturally and intra-culturally with American and Japanese children in the first and sixth grades. No sex differences were found for any of the categories with the Japanese children. Sex differences were found, however, between American boys and girls in the categories of adult-oriented play (where the child is directed by or imitates an adult) and team games. The American girls played adult-oriented games significantly more than the boys, while the boys expressed a significant dislike for adult-oriented games. The American boys played team games significantly more than girls. No significant differences were found for the categories of informal individual play, informal social play, and individual competitive games.

A number of studies have been done to determine sex differences in personality characteristics. In a sociological study, Derek Wright (121) found the commonly ascribed male-female characteristics existent. Females showed more interest in others and greater need for close relationships. They were less motivated to compete and more anxious about displaying aggression. The male showed aggression, muscular strength, and authority. Wright pointed out, however, that the amount of overlap between sexes in all qualities was more surprising than the differences. Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith (83) also stated that males or females often differ more from one another than from the opposite sex.

Sherriffs and Jarrett (92) had men and women assign behaviors and attributes as being masculine or feminine, as well as indicate the values placed on these qualities. They found surprising agreement between men and women in this task.

In studies involving some of these assigned gender attributes, sex differences have been found. Guardo (26) studied differences in personal space with sixth graders. Boys displayed less anxiety and more overt aggression by placing themselves significantly closer to threatening peers than did girls. Girls, on the other hand, placed significantly less distance between themselves and their best friends, depicting their deeper interest and desire to be close to others.

Another study dealing with the characteristics of aggression and competition was done by Benton (5) as he had male and female college students bargain with each other over sums of money. He found that males did in fact behave more aggressively and competitively. They made initial demands most favorable to themselves, extreme demands during negotiations, and fewer offers of the larger amount of money to their opponents.

Differences in intellectual functioning were discussed in considerable detail by Maccoby (59). She pointed out that the sex differences in general intelligence during the early years seem to parallel the physiological differences in maturation. Girls during the preschool years tended to exceed boys in verbal ability as well as test higher on general intelligence. In late adolescence, however, the boys tended to show greater gains than the girls on tests of general intelligence. These tendencies are similar to the earlier maturation of girls, with a later growth spurt in boys which exceeds that of the girls. Other differences noted by Maccoby included better performances by girls in grammar, spelling, and vocabulary; counting at earlier ages; and achieving higher grades. Boys, however, excelled at arithmetical reasoning in high school and achieved substantially more than girls in adulthood. Although some of the differences may have been related to sex-typed interests, she doubted whether the differences in spatial ability, analytic style, and breaking set patterns could be explained by this. She also expressed doubts that opportunities to learn or identification and modeling were adequate explanations for differences. She stated that some of the differences may be related to greater conformity, passivity, and dependence in girls and to greater independence and activity in boys.

Few physiological differences have been shown until after the age of at least eight in terms of performance and ability (46, 73, 118). Most studies have shown the male to be superior in power and strength, but there has been considerable variance in the magnitude of this difference. Ulrich (109) claimed that strength and endurance were more closely related to height and weight than to sex. Wilmore's studies (118) showed that the differences in strength and endurance were very minimal when lean body weight considerations were made.

A group of researchers at the University of Reading (64) insisted, however, that men and women are anatomically, physiologically, and psychologically different, and that these differences are a result of the Y chromosome and testosterone. They claimed that the newborn infant unequivocally has feminine or masculine predispositions.

Anatomically, the basic differences include advantages for the female in balance, stability, and flexibility and advantages for the male in a larger structure with heavier and longer bones that allow for greater speed and force (46).

A variety of sex differences has been discussed. In most cases it is extremely difficult to separate the cultural product from its biological base. Dornbusch (14) pointed out these difficulties as he noted a lack of evidence on the crucial matters of the effects of the sex hormones on behavior when varied in concentration or timing, a lack of observational data on parent and child interactions according to sex, and a lack of knowledge of the ways different socialization practices affect children with different biological characteristics. Much more research in these crucial areas is necessary before any definite conclusions can be drawn about the existence and implications of sex differences.

Sex Role

Just as most of the findings of literature surveying sex differences could be attributed to biological, sociological, or other sources, the literature regarding sex role preferences and perceptions can also reflect a variety of possible sources. In many cases the research may in fact represent sex differences; in others, it may reflect sex stereotyping.

Personality factors mentioned earlier have been shown to reflect something of an individual's sex role orientation. Alper (1) used the Wellesley Role-Orientation Scale to measure three aspects of role preference in college women: traits they considered masculine and feminine, role activities acceptable for themselves, and role activities appropriate for men only. The results of the study supported the prediction that achievement motivation in women is significantly related to sex role orientation. The women who scored low on femininity on the Wellesley Scale told higher success stories.

There is not agreement on whether or not men and women hold similar perceptions and attitudes. Fernberger (20) found such a high correlation between college men and women. Both men and women believed that women are less passionate, more sensitive, sacrifice more freedom, and were responsible for the final decision to live together. Both sexes believed that men are more crude, more dependent on the opposite sex, and all-around superior. The only differences were in the qualities of common-sense and diligence, in which cases both sexes favored themselves. Kitay (45) compared the sexes in their attitudes and beliefs about women in terms of women's value to society, attributes, rights and proper sphere of work. The low-prestige groups (women) tended to follow the high prestige groups (men), even with respect to opinions of themselves. More distinct differences in the attitudes of the sexes were noted by Kaplan and Goldman (44). College students were put into two mixed groups and each group was given the task of responding to a series of attitudinal items either as they believed the average man or the average woman would respond. The results showed that the stereotype of the average male represented more traditional and separatist attitudes toward women than did the stereotype of the average woman. The female subjects believed that there were greater differences in attitude between the sexes than the males did. The average male viewed women more traditionally than the average female did.

Miller (67) specifically studied male attitudes toward women's roles to determine if the level of male self-esteem affected their attitudes. Males attending large, state, and non-religiously affiliated institutions were generally more approving of the principles of the women's movement. Self-esteem did not appear to be a factor for this group of students. Males with lower self-esteems who attended small, religiously affiliated or private institutions, however, were less approving.

The non-college sample compared most closely with the latter group.

Hartley (31) noted that the historical background on changes in sex roles has not been easy to pinpoint. She traced the beginnings of the changes present today to the close of World War II when some women who had been called to work during the war chose not to return to their homes. Hartley cited the inaccuracy of the census data on women, noting that in some cases census workers purposely concealed a woman's work to reflect appropriate role behavior for the time period. Women who worked did not do so as a substitute for family responsibilities, but, rather, in addition to these obligations. Hartley found in studying children's attitudes that daughters of non-working mothers mentioned housewife as a first career choice significantly more than did daughters of working mothers. Daughters of working mothers more often chose non-traditional vocations. Significantly more girls indicated plans to work after marriage than boys expected wives to work. A further difference between children of working and non-working mothers was noted in the children's reactions to a picture of a mother leaving for work. Negative attitudes about work were ascribed to the mother by 54 per cent of the children of non-working mothers, as compared to 37 per cent of the children of working mothers.

A common conclusion from a number of current researchers has been that girls are less stereotypical and less traditional in their role perceptions and preferences than are boys (3, 17, 25, 29, 39, 71, 111, 112). Hartley (29) asked five, eight, and eleven year-old children to describe to a person from outer space what a boy, girl, man, and woman needed to be able to do or know on earth. Traditional domestic activities were mentioned 65 per cent of the time for women, with boys and girls responding similarly. Hartley thought this concentration somewhat striking since half of the subjects came from working mother families. Significantly more sons of working mothers than non-working mothers assigned work role activities to women. Girls did not show a similar significant difference, however. Pictures of parents leaving for work, similar to the above study by Hartley, were posed for the children's reactions, and 64 per cent perceived the women as suffering discomfort at leaving the child. Neither sex, social class, nor work status affected the nature of this response, but discomfort feelings were mentioned more with increasing age. Even more children, however, (69 per cent) thought the father felt unhappy to leave. In the expression of future plans, significantly more daughters of non-working mothers indicated housewife while more daughters of working mothers gave professional choices. The proportion of all girls who planned to work was significantly higher than the proportion of boys who said they would consent to having their wife work.

Vernon (111) surveyed third and sixth grade children to determine the present opinions of common occupations which have been predominately associated with a single sex in the past. Nurses and housecleaners were deemed most appropriate for women by children of both sexes in both grades, but teachers and cooks were acceptable for either sex. Lawyers, mayors, factory workers, and dentists were assigned to men by a majority of boys in both grades. A majority of sixth grade girls, however, felt that dentists and lawyers could be of either sex. Stereotyping was common for both boys and girls, but girls were less stereotypical in their views. This was especially true at the sixth grade level where a majority of girls indicated either for six of the ten categories.

Greenberg (25) sampled 1600 children in grades four, six, eight, and ten, by asking questions regarding women's participation in social, economic and political activities. Social class was not a significant factor, but sex and grade level were. Females and upper grade students were more likely to give egalitarian responses than the males and lower grade students.

Iglitzen (39) studied fifth graders and again reported girls to be less stereotyped and more open to change. Children with working mothers had more liberal views. Girls were more willing to see jobs open to either sex and 94 per cent of the girls indicated that they would have some sort of career.

In another study of fifth graders, Baruch (3) questioned girls about their career goals. Half wanted to be a secretary, nurse, or teacher. Only twelve of fifty chose veternarian, physician, or a scientific specialty. No one chose lawyer, banker, policeman, architect, or business. However, no one responded with wife and mother, a significant fact in itself.

In a study of personal occupation aspirations of sixth grade boys and girls, Vernon (112) found that males selected traditional "male" careers for the purpose of making money. Three of twelve girls selected non-traditional careers (doctor, veternarian, and archaeologist). As they described a typical day, males made no mention of marriage or household responsibilities. Six of twelve girls mentioned family/children/household responsibilities, but only one indicated she would not work outside the home.

In a similarly structured study with first and second graders, Looft (57) found that the boys named eighteen different occupations they would like to do in contrast to only eight named by the girls. The majority of the girls responded with nurse or teacher. Only one girl indicated a non-traditional role, that of being a doctor. In response to what she thought she really would do, she changed saying, "I'll probably have to be something else--maybe a store lady."

Entwisle and Greenberger (17) studied ninth grade boys and girls and found a marked difference between the sexes in their views of women's work role, with boys consistently holding more conservative opinions. Of the groups of girls studied, those from the middle class held the most favorable view toward women working. High I.Q. blue collar white girls held the most liberal views on women holding men's jobs.

Minuchin (71) concluded from her study that girls are less sex-typed and more flexible in role commitment than boys. She found that children stated a preference for their own sex and for play with their own sex. Girls showed a stronger home and family orientation than boys. Boys expressed more aggressive fantasies than girls. The children who departed most from traditional views came from modern subculture backgrounds.

Self-image and self-concept play a crucial part in the aspiration levels of children. Smith (97) studied sex differences in children's opinions of each other and themselves in relation to desirable and undesirable traits. He found that with increasing age, boys have a progressively poorer opinion of girls, and that the girls have progressively poorer opinions of themselves as well. Both boys and girls have progressively better opinions of boys.

Hartley (30) discussed the pressures on boys to be "masculine," and noted that the desired behavior is rarely defined, but that undesired behavior is responded to negatively, i.e. "sissy." She feels that this may lead to the development of an oversimplified view of the male role with stress on physical strength and athletic skills without regard for feelings.

A study by Ross and Ross (84) indicated that boys do come to a very definite opinion of appropriate role behavior. The purpose of the study was to determine whether preschool boys would resist the advocation of sex-inappropriate behavior by a woman teacher they highly regarded. Each child was allowed to select a toy and keep it for a week. The teacher then picked a toy for the child to have, which was the number one toy choice made by the child for the opposite sex. Most boys resisted the sex-inappropriate toy choice. Of the twenty in the experimental group, only five changed to the teacher's choice. The same number of girls resisted as boys, but the boys displayed more anxiety by arguing with the teacher, degrading the teacher in her absence, etc. All subjects (30 boys and 30 girls) selected sex-appropriate toys for boys, but selected sex-inappropriate toys for girls more often than sex-appropriate toys. Toys were labeled as being appropriate for one sex or the other on the basis of assignment by a control group of children. This is interesting in its implications for greater flexibility in female roles.

Lansky and McKay (48) obtained contradictory results in their study of the sex role preferences of kindergarten boys and girls which led them to question the bipolar assumptions of standard masculinity-femininity tests. They called for more study of the phenomenological meanings of "masculine" and "feminine."

The results of Williams' (117) study of sex role identification also called into question the validity of some previous theories, particularly that girls who identify with a retiring-passive mother have the highest levels of personal adjustment. On the California Personality Index, Williams found that the girls who identified with ascendant-dominant fathers had healthier profiles.

Kohlberg (47) reported the results of some of his own previously unpublished data. As mentioned in the section on sex differences, Kohlberg supported a cognitive-developmental theory of sex role origins. He stated that early stereotypes arise from perceived differences in body structure and capacity, noting that children differentiate first by age-size, and only later by gender. He found that children saw social power arising from physical power, i.e. size. Such awareness developed in the years from four to eight; hence, a tendency for both sexes to attribute greater power and prestige to the male role. Kohlberg discounted socio-economic class and race as having any direct relationships.

Several researchers have agreed that females have a more difficult time with the development of a sex role identity, even though it has been most common for the mother to be at home with the children and the father away at work (38, 56, 58). Lynn (58) concluded from the research that with increasing age, males more firmly identify with the masculine role while females not only show preferences for the male sex role but adopt aspects of that sex role, as well. Lynn attributed this to the fact that our culture offers higher prestige and more advantages to the male. Boys tend to identify with the masculine sex role which the culture in general esteems and perpetuates, whereas most girls are limited in identification to the specific sex role of their mother. Howe (38) stated that women were more likely to find their identity outside of themselves in the role of a wife, mother, teacher, etc., rather than as a female. Liljestrom (56) attributed the differences in identity sources to the fact that males receive their behavior norms from a single source representative of their own age and sex, while women are taught to be flexible in their reference sources, shifting from the older generation, to peers of their own sex or mixed groups, to peers of the opposite sex. Males have much greater homogeneity in their patterns of interaction.

As a society we seem to perpetuate the same sex roles from generation to generation. Wolfe and Gunderson (118) found that in three mountain communes the sex roles were more traditional and rigidly maintained than in the larger society. The communes were anarchistic in structure, and no formal planning or decision-making had taken place in regard to the distribution and rotation of chores. Women merely assumed rather narrow social roles which provided warmth and freedom for the men.

Padan-Eisenstark (75) wrote specifically of girls' education in the kibbutz, whose purposes were to promote equality among all members, particularly between men and women. There appeared to be some conflict, however, between that which was representative of equality and that which existed in the kibbutz. Boys and girls were raised together, sharing experiences in common, until the age of eighteen. The play of infants, despite the fact that all toys were open to all children, centered around the doll's house for girls and around toy machinery and construction material for the boys. Between the ages of six and twelve, sex differences in activities and interests seemed to be minimal. Adolescence, however, brought several changes. The courses of study in school, sports, and extra-curricular activities were all patterned after male interests, and as a result, the adolescent girls became increasingly passive and withdrawn. The girls indicated embarrassment at the "mixed" sleeping quarters. Outward appearance was also a source of conflict. Maturational differences physically and psychologically were reflected in attempts by the girls to establish friendship with older boys, which only brought them into further conflict with their own peer group. A further example of the lack of idealized equality was seen in the work assignments; girls were given tasks that largely required housework.

Broverman, et. al. (9) concluded that clinical psychologists further perpetuate the sex role stereotype of the society. As a result of a questionnaire of bipolar items, it was found that the clinicians have different concepts of health for men and women. Their concepts of a healthy man did not differ significantly from their concepts of a healthy adult (sex unspecified), but their concepts of a healthy woman did differ significantly from those of the healthy adult.

Sociologists have also been criticized for perpetuation of stereotypes. Schneider and Hacker (87) studied the effects of the use of the generic term "man" in sociology texts. It was found that in actual pictures and in images portrayed by the generic term, women seemed to be filtered-out of many social roles, and actually shown and interpreted in highly traditional, dependent, and subordinate positions.

Millman (68) identified a built-in measure of stereotypical perpetuation in many of the research designs. She asserted that most research has been limited to women's roles and characteristics of the middle class family without adequately considering men's roles or functional, historical, and political influences of sex roles on American society in general. Her claim was that sociologists perpetuate the status quo by limiting attention to the family and then concluding that sex roles are inevitably differentiated. By doing research in an institution other than the family and including a functional perspective, Millman stated that the sociologists might find a rapid and broad change of sex roles in the United States society, even though not as rapidly in the family.

Sex Stereotyping

Sex stereotyping pervades the whole of our culture, but perhaps it might be most singularly pointed to in our school systems, whose responsibility it is to perpetuate the culture from generation to generation. Levy and Stacey (52, p. 105) noted that the schools are, "effective agents of social control. . . ." Unfortunately, that control in many respects has been exerted to maintain traditional expectations. Examples are evident at all levels of the educational structure. Differential behaviors seem to be a prerequisite for the respective social acceptance of girls and boys. Sadker (86, p. 92) referred to these forces as "the hidden curriculum."

Although most schools have eliminated dress regulations in the face of court pressures, parents still have a strong voice in appropriate attire. Sadker (86, p. 93) saw dresses as "a symbolic confinement" for girls as they are thus forced to relinquish, "the freedom to run . . . , freedom to sit in complete comfort, and freedom to turn a somersault. . . ." Boys, on the other hand, were free to move and expected to challenge the teacher, to be stronger, and to achieve at higher levels. Baumrind (4) further indicated differing expectations by citing the ways in which schools develop expressive competence in girls in terms of social responsibility but not instrumental competence in terms of independence.

Perhaps one of the most glaring examples of the reinforcement of traditional sex roles by the schools is the fact that the overwhelming majority of elementary school teachers are predominantly female, while the administrators of these teachers are predominantly male. This same image of relative inferior-superior relationship between women and men is repeated throughout the elementary school readers. Saario, Jacklin, and Tittle (85) reported that more male characters appeared in roles that were constructive-productive, aggressive, problem-solving, and physically exertive. In contrast, they found the females to be more conforming in their behavior, as well as more verbal, particularly about themselves. They found that the amount of stereotyping in the readers increased with grade level.

There have been a number of researchers who have questioned the effects of predominantly female teachers on males (8, 86, 91). Sadker (86) noted that the elementary school boy is often in a situation where the keys to success are passiveness, cooperation, good manners, and subdued personality. These traits are, in fact, in conflict with the independence and mastery he has been encouraged in at home. Brophy and Good (8) stated that most evidence suggests that it is not the sex of the teacher that is a variable, but rather the interaction between the role of the student and the respective sex role expectations for boys and girls in our society. Thus, it seems that what is needed is a consistent focus for the development of the qualities we wish to perpetuate in people. Sexton (91) wrote that the school and the home would do better to move their standards in what today is considered a more masculine direction, thus top performances could be stimulated in both sexes.

In contrast to the notion that teachers favor girls in elementary school because of their "better behavior," Sadker (86) reported that elementary school teachers interacted more with boys in approval, instruction, listening, and disapproval.

In terms of teacher employment and performance, Howe (38) charged that men in the elementary school do not have to prove themselves, but instead are assured of the best classrooms and materials and are looked to first for administrative talent. In the secondary school, sex-typing reveals itself on a departmental basis with women predominantly in English and foreign language and men in math, science, and social science.

Sex stereotyping in elementary reader series was previously referred to by Saario, et. al. (85). The most comprehensive examination of content and role portrayal in elementary readers was done by Women on Words and Images (120), a group of New Jersey women whose work resulted in the publication Dick and Jane as Victims. Their study involved 134 readers from fourteen different publishers containing 2,760 stories. In their analysis, boy-centered stories outnumbered girl-centered stories by a ratio of five to two. Women were portrayed in 26 different occupations in comparison to 147 for the men.

It has frequently been said that schools reflect the status of society. Levy and Stacey (52) cited a study by Janice Pottker comparing the sex ratio of occupations reported by the U.S. Department of Labor with the ratio shown in the readers. The findings showed that the readers were more sexist than the society they were supposed to reflect.

Levy and Stacey (52) examined "Alpha One," a new phonetics program used in Long Island and New York City school districts for the kindergarten and first grade levels. Each letter in the alphabet was assigned a gender. All 21 consonants were males. The five vowels were represented by females, each of whom had something wrong with her.

At the high school level, women have been essentially omitted from history and literature as noted by Trecker (107, 108). She cited references made to the position of women in various cultures and time periods, but never made to the position of men. The assumption seems to be that the male role is history itself.

Similar stereotyping is reflected by the media. Whitney (116) monitored ten programs of the popular "Sesame Street." The program's characters include seven live males to two live females and ten male Muppets with given names to some unnamed female Muppets who appear only occasionally. Big Bird is asexual, but a poll of more than 40 young children reported it as a male. The overall ratio of male to female portrayals on the programs monitored ranged from five to one to eleven to one.

Still another source of stereotype perpetuated by the schools is found in the educational testing system. Saario, et. al. (85) and Tittle (106) studied content and interpretation models for a number of standardized tests. Content bias was indicated by the frequency of male and female noun and pronoun use. Women were portrayed almost exclusively as homemakers. Young girls did female chores while young boys played or took on leadership roles. Some items seemed to imply that the majority of the professions were closed to women.

People have been increasingly calling for change (12, 15, 19, 22, 37, 70, 78). Howe (37) labeled the problem as largely one of aspiration. The Committee to Eliminate Sexual Discrimination in the Ann Arbor Public Schools has published a book, Let Them Aspire (19), directed at this very problem. It contains a comprehensive plan for the removal of stereotypes and inequalities in all curricular and extra-curricular offerings of the school. The Emma Willard Task Force on Education has published Sexism in Education (15) and has been extensively involved in sensitizing Minnesota teachers to the problems of sexism as part of a Minnesota law requiring human relations training for all certified teachers.

Fredriksson (22) reported on the establishment of the Nordic Cultural Commission with representatives from Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden to study sex role research and sex roles in education. Their report was a clear mandate for change, and a new curriculum adopted in 1970-71 reflected that mandate:

> . . . schools should work for equality between the sexes--in the family, on the labour market, and within the community as a whole. This should be done through equal treatment of boys and girls in the work at school and by counteracting traditional attitudes to sex roles and stimulating pupils to discuss and question the differences which exist between men and women in many fields in respect of influence, jobs and wages. (22, p. 70)

and,

> Schools should work on the assumption that men and women will have the same role in the future, that preparation for the role of parenthood is equally important for boys and girls, and that girls have reason to be as interested in vocation as boys. (22, p. 71)

The specific focus of this study was on stereotyping in attitudes toward participation in sports activities. Little research is available that directly speaks to this area. Attitudes toward athletic competition by girls and women at various levels have been studied (13, 27, 61, 62, 88). Generally these attitudes have been found to be favorable, with participants or former participants generally more favorable toward women's competition. Individual sports have been given higher preferential rankings (27). In the Cobb study (13) there was a significant difference found between attitudes of mothers of sons and mothers of daughters. It was speculated that this might be due to fewer opportunities for girls to compete.

Metheny (66) discussed activities which have been considered as categorically acceptable or unacceptable for women's participation. Those activities indicated as categorically unacceptable include those characterized by involvement of bodily contact and direct force to either an object or another person, as well as body projection into or through space.

The problems of stereotyping in elementary school physical education classes and sports programs have been pointed out by Ulrich (109) and Larson (49). Activity differentiation which provides football for the boys and soccer for the girls, wrestling for the boys and folk dance for the girls has been labeled unjustifiable. The provision of after school sports programs for boys and cheerleading for girls was another example of stereotypical differentiation. The argument claiming girls' lack of interest in aggressive activities can hardly be defended when girls have not had the opportunity to learn to enjoy such activities. Ulrich particularly criticized the reinforcements teachers give to traditional sex role expectations by such comments as, "But Steve, some girls can hit baseballs as well as boys," and, "Let's have three strong boys to move this equipment" (109, p. 113).

Boslooper and Hayes (6) explored the gamut of attitudes revolving around femininity and sports participation. The problems of recurring measurement against male standards rather than the acceptance of acts of skill without sex associations were pointed to as examples of further perpetuation of stereotypes. They noted the comments drawn by women who do excel, who were described as not running or throwing "like a girl" or "like a woman."

These kinds of images have again been re-inforced by the elementary school readers. The study by Women on Words and Images (120) showed that in the text illustrations boys were almost without exception taller, participated in athletics while girls watched, and acted independently while girls did not. In content analysis it was found that girls were allowed to compete only half as much as boys, but that the boys nearly always won. In one instance a girl won a swimming race against a boy, but he then went on to beat her five times. If a girl did win it was by fluke or because a boy taught her originally. Boys were in the positions of power, and to get praise a girl had to play better than a boy. In one instance a girl got on a baseball team only to be ridiculed by the other team with jests at the team's assumed inferiority since they had a girl as pitcher. Real friends are shown to be those of the same sex. Girls were shown practicing the domestic role continuously while the boys were out playing. The authors of this study called for an open portrayal of boys and girls in all the roles to remove the official approval the stories now appear to give to the conventional sex role stereotypes.

Another variable for this study was race. Few studies are available that reflect sex stereotyping in the Black culture. Harrison (28) reported a rejection of the women's movement by many Blacks in criticism of its image as a white, middle-class movement that is taking attention from the Black Movement. She quoted Blacks as saying that the women's movement was irrelevant to them. Their wish was to get out of other people's kitchens and into their own. There was also some concern that a flood of women to the labor market could result in fewer job opportunities for the Black male.

In a study of Black women college graduates Fichter (21) found that many more Negro women expected and preferred to work than whites and that more Negro males preferred that their wives work than did white males. Twice as many Negro women as white preferred to combine a career and family; white women were inclined to prefer a career before children and after children were grown. Fichter also concluded that the Negro female with a college education had a great deal more confidence in her own abilities than did the white female graduate.

Slaughter (93) reviewed research on role models for Black women and found that the primary role model was the resourceful woman capable of caring for both herself and her family. Slaughter also cited a report by Ferriss that indicated more married Black women were employed than white women.

Mack (63) did a study to determine differences in power structures between Black and white families. The study questioned the validity of common references to matriarchy and unnatural superiority of women in the Black Culture. Four groups were used which represented the Black and white working classes and the Black and white middle classes. No significant differences were found between either the racial or economic classes for the source of decision-making; all saw the wife as slightly more powerful than the husband.

Houzer (36) studied Black college women in relation to their physical education activity preferences. Significant differences were found between Black and white women and were attributed to previous experience and specific attitudes about certain activities. The top five preferences of white women were individual sports activities, whereas the first three preferences of Black women were team sports: softball, volleyball, and basketball.

The literature reviewed reflects varied sources of influences on attitudes of young children: real and perceived sex differences, sex role assignments and expectations, sex stereotyping in attitudes and actions of children, and stereotyping in the materials surrounding children. The results of this study may provide a further example of the presence or absence of stereotyping in attitudes of children.

PROCEDURES

Subjects

The subjects for this study were the population of students in kindergarten through sixth grade at Malcolm Price Laboratory School, University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, Iowa (see Table I). The school attempts to maintain a representative pupil population with a wide range of social, economic, and educational backgrounds. Students come from both rural and urban areas. Attendance zones are shifted regularly to maintain this representation. The population is 19 per cent Black; most of these students are bused from inner-city Waterloo. Eight of the 61 Blacks do reside in Cedar Falls.

The 322 children came from 218 different families. Eighty-five per cent of the children had both parents in the home. The father worked and the mother was at home in the case of 53 per cent of the children. Both parents were employed for 30 per cent of the children. Of those cases that represented the single parent homes, the mother was employed 54 per cent of the time.

Some picture of the economic status of the parents can be seen through examination of the types of occupations (see Table II). The population came from a predominantly

TABLE I

Subjects

Grade	White		Black		Other*		Total
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	
K	15	15	4	4	1	1	40
1	17	17	4	3	0	0	41
2	14	17	4	5	0	0	40
3	21	14	5	6	0	1	47
4	16	21	6	4	0	0	47
5	21	21	6	2	1	0	51
6	23	24	4	4	1	0	56
Total	127	129	33	28	3	2	322

*This category represented one Indian, two Oriental and two Spanish-American children.

TABLE II

Parent Occupations* of Students Interviewed

	Male		Female	
	n	%	n	%
White Collar				
Professional, technical, and kindred	81	44	38	38
Managers and administrators, except farms	21	11	4	4
Sales workers	13	7	2	2
Clerical and kindred workers	2	1	21	21
Blue Collar				
Craftspersons and kindred workers	11	6	0	0
Operatives	3	2	0	0
Transport equipment operatives	2	1	0	0
Laborers, except farm	24	13	5	5
Farm Workers	9	5	1	1
Service Workers	14	8	16	16
Retired	1	1	1	1
Occupation Unknown	4	2	4	4
Unemployed (Single Parent Families Only)	0	0	9	9
Total	185	100	101	100

*Occupation classifications taken from United States Department of Commerce, *1970 Census of Population: Volume One, Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1973).

white collar occupational background. More specifically, of those categorized as professional, 74 per cent of the men and 87 per cent of the women were employed in education in the public schools or university. No information was available on salary ranges. Seventeen families (8 per cent), representing 35 children, do qualify for free or reduced meals. The criteria for this are determined by the federal government based on minimum income levels and the number of children in the home. No specific data were available for those on this program. There could well be others eligible who have not chosen to take advantage of the special rates.

Measurement

The instrument of measurement (see Appendix) consisted of fourteen story problems calling for direct responses and follow-up explanations giving the reasons the particular responses were given.

Two pilot studies were conducted at Orchard Hills Elementary School in Cedar Falls, Iowa. The results of these two studies provided a basis for decision-making regarding the appropriateness of the questions for the span of grade levels and the variance of responses elicited by differences in question wording. A consideration tested in the pilot study revolved around the question of openly offering a "same" or "no difference" alternative for response, as opposed to merely referring to the two sexes in the body of the story problem and leaving the choices of responses unstated. The pilot study results utilizing these two alternatives reflected different orientations in the responses for the questions when the alternative of "both" or "no difference" was offered. As a result, the questions in the final study did not include the expressed choice of "both" or "no difference." All such responses in the study came from the children themselves.

Each pilot study involved fourteen children, a girl and a boy from each grade level (kindergarten through six) who represented different levels of ability. The children for the pilot study were selected by the building principal and classroom teachers in order to provide for a cross-section in background and ability. The questions were found to be applicable for use across the grade span.

The instrument was constructed by the investigator and underwent several revisions upon recommendations of the advisor, the statistical consultant, and a number of elementary school teachers. Categories for investigation were first determined, and then story problems were constructed to reflect the established categories of acceptability (kinds of activities and mixed versus separate teams) and expectations (success and ability, opportunity, and rewards) (see Appendix).

Tools and Techniques

The instrument was administered to each individual by means of an interview which was tape recorded and later transcribed. Each interview required from seven to ten minutes, with the younger children usually requiring more time than the older children. The interviews were conducted in offices of classroom teachers and in a conference room of the guidance office. Distractions and interruptions during the interviews were minimal. although on occasion there was a telephone call or necessity for other access to the room being used. These did not appear to influence the responses of the subject. The introductory remarks to each student were, "My name is Miss Geadelmann. I'm working on a project and I'd like you to help me by telling me what you think about some things." The questions were read to each student in the same order. No reference was made to the tape recorder unless the subject asked a specific question about it. The recorder did not seem to be an inhibiting influence.

There were a few instances in which the investigator inadvertently omitted a question from the interview and one instance in which a technical difficulty eliminated the last part of an interview on the tape. These omissions were not realized at the time of the interview. The investigator decided to leave the omission rather than call a subject back to ask one specific question out of context.

Interviews were conducted during the unscheduled periods of the investigator. A letter explaining the nature of the study and plan for interviews was distributed to each elementary teacher (see Appendix). Arrangements were made in advance for students to be taken from their regular class activities for the interview. Cooperation from the teachers was excellent and very few problems or difficulties were encountered in the availability of the students for interviews.

The interviewing process commenced on January 11, 1974, and was completed on March 18, 1974. The number of students interviewed per day varied from three to 21, with ten being about the average. All kindergarten and first grade children were interviewed first. After that, grade levels were rotated by day in order to minimize the possible influence the students might have on each other in discussing the nature of the interviews. There did not appear to be obvious peer influences on students who had not yet been interviewed. There were a few comments and questions directed to the investigator by some of the fifth and sixth grade students to the effect of, "Is this for women's lib?"

Each subject was assigned a three digit identification number. Other background information that was coded for each subject included grade level in school, birth-date, sex, parents in the home, work status of parents, and race.

All tapes were transcribed by the investigator. Answers to the direct questions were coded and recorded directly on the computer keypunch forms. The answers to the "why" questions were written verbatim on separate slips of paper. When all transcription was complete, the answers to the "why" questions were examined group by group and assigned to common categories. The categories were not determined until the patterns of response had been examined. Upon categorization, these too were assigned a code number which was recorded in the column on the computer keypunch forms. A complete listing of the numbers and kinds of responses assigned to each category for each question appears in the Appendix.

Statistical Analysis

At the advice of Mr. Tom Moberg, a statistical consultant at the University of Iowa, the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Computer Program was used. Computation services through both the University of Iowa and the University of Northern Iowa were available to the investigator through a Faculty Research Grant from the University of Northern Iowa. Mr. Ken Cox was the systems analyst at the University of Northern

Iowa who wrote the specific program instructions. Mr. Moberg provided further assistance for computer programming and the analysis of data.

The SPSS program yielded frequency distributions and percentages in addition to cross tabulations with Chi-square. Cross tabulations for all of the variables were made as follows: grade by variable, sex by variable, and race by variable.

The .05 level of significance was used for interpretation of Chi-square in the cross tabulations. In order to provide further information for the reader, Chi-square values which were of a higher level of significance were reported as well.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

Each question will be discussed separately within the respective categories of acceptability and expectations and their subgroups in terms of significance and possible sources of significance within the tables. The "why" questions will be treated in the same manner as the original questions. For purposes of analysis, three major categories will be used for the "why" questions: no gender association, unqualified gender association, and qualified gender association.

The category "no gender association" means that in the rationale given by the child for the original answer, no reference was made to a specific gender. Examples of the kinds of responses in this category were, "Both boys and girls are good at running," and, "It would depend on who had practiced more; either one might."

The category "unqualified gender association" includes responses made on the basis of an assumption that something is universally or generally characteristic of one specific gender. Examples were, "Boys don't jump rope," and, "Only girls are cheerleaders," or even more simply, "He's a boy."

The category "qualified gender association" refers to a particular quality associated with one gender or the other. For most of the questions, the qualified gender associations were based on ability, "Boys are stronger than girls," or, "Girls know how to do that better than boys." There were a few instances of qualified gender associations based on financial need, acceptance by other children, fairness, activity value, lack of opportunity, and atypical achievement.

A complete listing of the responses and their frequency within each category for each question appears in the Appendix.

Although the tables indicate response percentages for the racial group classified "Other" (Oriental, Spanish-American, and Indian), this group will be ignored in the discussion of results since the number of subjects was so small (five).

As the Chi-square values for comparisons by race are evaluated, the reader should keep in mind the fact that the Blacks constituted only 19 per cent of the population. Consequently, it will be noted that the percentages for the Whites often closely parallel those for the total group. A further result of the lesser numbers of Blacks was small numbers of responses in some cells of the Chi-square tables which may have affected the validity of some of the Chi-square values.

Acceptability

Kinds of Activities

Questions: Who Would Like Rollerskates? Why?

(See Table III.) The total group favored the girl to receive rollerskates. The reasons for response were predominantly based on unqualified gender associations.

There were significant Chi-square values for the responses to this question for comparisons by grade and by sex. No significant Chi-square values were found for the reasons for these responses. The Chi-square values for comparisons by race were not significant.

Rollerskates were associated increasingly by grade with the girl, from 53 per cent at the kindergarten level to 80 per cent by the sixth grade. The percentages for the boy decreased by grade, and at the same time, the percentages of responses favoring both boys and girls generally increased by grade, although in small intervals. The reasons for the responses were based primarily on unqualified gender associations at all grade levels. Children in kindergarten through grade four made more gender ability associations than the children at other grade levels. More males indicated a boy would like rollerskates than females did (25 per cent versus 16 per cent). Females, on the other hand, responded that both boys and girls would like rollerskates in greater percentage than did the males. Both sexes had similar high

TABLE III

Who Would Like Rollerskates? Why?

	Boy %	Girl %	Both %	No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Assoc. %	Qual. Gender: Ability %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	45	53	3	3	65	15	13	5
1	34	61	5	5	73	10	5	7
2	30	63	8	8	63	20	3	8
3	17	70	13	11	66	17	2	4
4	13	72	15	15	75	6	2	2
5	10	75	16	16	75	4	2	4
6	5	80	14	13	79	0	4	5
	$x^2=38.43$	12 df	sig. .00**		$x^2=34.67$	24 df	sig. .07	
Sex--Male	25	67	8	8	75	10	4	4
Female	16	70	14	13	68	10	4	6
	$x^2=6.68$	2 df	sig. .04*		$x^2=2.92$	4 df	sig. .57	
Race--Black	27	62	12	12	62	18	2	7
White	19	71	11	10	74	8	4	4
Other	40	40	20	0	60	0	20	20
	$x^2=4.11$	4 df	sig. .39		$x^2=14.70$	8 df	sig. .07	
Total Group	21	69	11	10	71	10	5	5

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

percentages indicating that the girl should receive the rollerskates.

Questions: Who Would Like a Football? Why? (See Table IV.) The total group strongly favored the boy for the football (96 per cent), and their reasons were based primarily on unqualified gender associations (90 per cent).

Comparisons of the responses and reasons for responses by grade yielded the only significant Chi-square values for this question.

The football was strongly associated with the boy across all grade levels. The largest percentage of responses for the girl came from the kindergarten children (10 per cent), and only second and fifth graders mentioned the girl again, both in decreasing percentages. It was not until the fifth and sixth grades that the alternative of "both" was selected, and then in very small percentages. The reasons for the responses were largely on the basis of unqualified gender associations across all grade levels. The only other category mentioned with some frequency was that of qualified gender associations based on ability, and this was in the second grade (15 per cent).

Questions: Who Would Like a Bicycle? Why? (See Table V.) The total group favored both the boy and girl receiving a bicycle, making no gender associations in their reasons for response a majority of the time.

TABLE IV

Who Would Like a Football? Why?

	Boy %	Girl %	Both %	No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Assoc. %	Qual. Gender: Ability %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	90	10	0	0	85	5	5	5
1	100	0	0	0	98	2	0	0
2	95	5	0	0	83	15	3	0
3	100	0	0	0	98	2	0	0
4	100	0	0	0	92	4	4	0
5	94	2	4	4	88	6	2	0
6	95	0	5	5	88	5	2	0
	x^2=27.71	12 df	sig. .01**		x^2=38.54	24 df	sig. .03*	
Sex--Male	98	2	0	0	91	7	2	0
Female	95	2	3	3	89	4	2	1
	x^2=5.03	2 df	sig. .08		x^2=7.91	4 df	sig. .10	
Race--Black	92	7	2	2	88	2	7	2
White	97	1	2	2	90	7	1	0
Other	100	0	0	0	100	0	0	0
	x^2= 7.13	4 df	sig. .13		x^2=10.91	8 df	sig. .21	
Total Group	96	2	2	2	90	6	2	1

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

TABLE V

Who Would Like a Bicycle? Why?

	Boy %	Girl %	Both %	No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Assoc. %	Qual. Gender: Ability %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	28	45	28	23	43	10	15	10
1	29	42	34	34	49	10	5	2
2	15	30	55	55	38	3	0	5
3	15	15	70	70	26	0	4	0
4	13	19	68	68	23	4	4	0
5	10	12	78	76	20	0	2	2
6	13	11	77	77	18	2	2	2
	x^2=47.82	12 df	sig. .00**		x^2=70.47	24 df	sig. .00**	
Sex--Male	18	22	60	59	31	2	4	4
Female	15	25	61	60	28	6	5	2
	x^2=.66	2 df	sig. .72		x^2=4.35	4 df	sig. .36	
Race--Black	15	33	52	50	30	3	7	10
White	17	21	62	62	29	4	4	1
Other	0	40	60	60	40	0	0	0
	x^2=5.71	4 df	sig. .22		x^2=16.17	8 df	sig. .04*	
Total Group	16	23	60	59	30	4	4	3

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

There were significant Chi-square values for both the responses and the reasons for the responses for comparisons by grade, and for the reasons for responses for comparisons by race. Comparisons by sex yielded no significant Chi-square values for this question.

Children in kindergarten and first grade selected the girl to receive the bicycle most frequently, but the most frequent selection changed to the response "both" at the second grade and generally increased in that category thereafter. The reasons given most frequently by the children in kindergarten and first grade were based on unqualified gender associations. Children from the second grade on gave reasons which were in the no gender association category more than 55 per cent of the time.

When the races were compared in their reasons for responses to the bicycle question, the primary difference was in the frequency of responses in the no gender association category. Whites had a larger percentage of their responses in this category than did the Blacks. The Blacks, however, had larger percentages in the miscellaneous and "I don't know" categories.

Questions: Who Would Like Golf Clubs? Why? (See Table VI.) The total group strongly favored the boy to receive golf clubs for reasons based primarily on unqualified gender associations.

TABLE VI

Who Would Like Golf Clubs? Why?

	Boy %	Girl %	Both %	Don't Know %	No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Assoc. %	Qual. Gender: Ability %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	73	18	10	0	10	63	8	15	5
1	83	2	12	2	12	68	7	7	5
2	90	3	9	0	8	83	5	0	5
3	75	2	19	4	15	68	9	2	6
4	81	0	19	0	19	70	6	2	2
5	59	2	37	2	37	59	0	0	4
6	77	2	21	0	20	68	5	2	5
	x^2=48.31 18 df sig. .00**					x^2=42.47 24 df sig. .01**			
Sex--Male	82	3	15	1	15	74	4	3	4
Female	71	5	23	2	21	62	7	5	6
	x^2=5.68 3 df sig. .13					x^2=5.46 4 df sig. .24			
Race--Black	75	10	12	3	12	72	2	8	7
White	77	2	20	1	19	67	7	3	4
Other	60	0	40	0	40	60	0	0	0
	x^2=13.74 6 df sig. .03*					x^2=10.57 8 df sig. .23			
Total Group	76	4	19	1	18	68	6	4	5

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

The Chi-square values for the responses and reasons for responses when compared by grade were significant. Comparisons by sex yielded no significant Chi-square values, but the Chi-square value for the responses when compared by race was significant.

Golf clubs were associated predominantly with a boy at every grade level, but there were some variations from grade to grade that did not follow any pattern. The percentage of responses favoring the boy increased from kindergarten to the second grade, where it was a high of 90 per cent. It dropped back almost to the kindergarten level at the third grade, rose again in fourth grade, but dropped sharply in fifth grade to a low of 59 per cent. The sixth grade represented another rise in percentage for the boy, to a level slightly above that in kindergarten. The sharp drop in fifth grade was accompanied by a large increase in the responses favoring both boys and girls. The percentages for the girl generally decreased from kindergarten on, while those for "both" generally increased. The reasons for responses were largely based on unqualified gender associations. There was no apparent reason for the marked change at the fifth grade level.

Although the Blacks and Whites both responded in favor of the boy in similar percentages, the Blacks differed from the Whites in their second most frequent response. More Blacks stated that a girl would like golf clubs than did the Whites. Whites, on the other hand, were more likely to respond that both boys and girls might like golf clubs.

Questions: Who Would Like a Basketball? Why? (See Table VII.) The total group favored the boy to receive a basketball for reasons based largely on unqualified gender associations.

The responses and reasons for responses yielded significant Chi-square values when comparisons were made by grade. The Chi-square values for comparisons by sex were not significant, but there was a significant Chi-square value for the responses when compared by race.

A basketball was seen as most desired by a boy and secondly by both boys and girls in every grade level except kindergarten, where the second largest percentage of response went to the girl. No children in grades three, four, five, or six selected the girl, however. This was somewhat unusual since the school was participating in its first season of girls' interscholastic basketball at the time of interviewing. The percentage for "both" generally increased by grade, but reached a high of only 27 per cent at the sixth grade.

The reasons for responses largely reflected unqualified gender associations at all grade levels. The percentages did decline from kindergarten through fourth grade

TABLE VII

Who Would Like a Basketball? Why?

	Boy %	Girl %	Both %	No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Assoc. %	Qual. Gender: Ability %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	68	25	8	8	73	5	13	3
1	88	2	10	10	73	15	0	2
2	75	0	25	25	70	5	0	0
3	79	0	21	21	66	11	2	0
4	68	6	26	28	64	6	2	0
5	80	0	20	18	75	6	0	2
6	73	0	27	27	68	4	0	2
	$x^2=58.10$	12 df	sig. .00**		$x^2=41.71$	24 df	sig. .01**	
Sex--Male	77	4	19	19	72	6	1	2
Female	74	5	21	21	67	9	3	1
	$x^2=0.42$	2 df	sig. .81		$x^2=3.58$	4 df	sig. .47	
Race--Black	87	2	12	12	78	7	3	0
White	74	4	22	22	67	7	2	2
Other	40	40	20	20	80	0	0	0
	$x^2=20.02$	4 df	sig. .00**		$x^2=5.39$	8 df	sig. .72	
Total Group	76	4	20	20	70	7	2	1

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

before rising in fifth grade and declining again in sixth grade. The pattern of responses in the no gender association category generally countered that of the unqualified gender association, i.e. it rose when the unqualified gender association percentage dropped. The only exception was at the third grade where the gender associations based on ability showed an increase.

The Blacks selected the boy to receive a basketball in even greater percentage than the Whites (87 per cent versus 74 per cent). Whites, on the other hand, had more responses favoring both boys and girls (22 per cent versus 12 per cent).

Questions: Who Would Like a Jump Rope? Why? (See Table VIII.) The total group favored the girl to receive a jump rope for reasons which primarily reflected unqualified gender associations.

Significant Chi-square values were found for comparisons of both responses and reasons for responses by grade and by race and for the responses when compared by sex.

All grade levels strongly favored the girl, although there was considerable fluctuation by grade level. The lowest percentage favoring the girl was in kindergarten (80 per cent) and the highest in second grade (100 per cent). The kindergarten children picked the boy the most of any grade level. No children in

TABLE VIII

Who Would Like a Jump Rope? Why?

	Boy %	Girl %	Both %	No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Assoc. %	Qual. Gender: Ability %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	10	80	10	8	70	10	8	5
1	2	93	5	5	78	10	2	5
2	0	100	0	0	80	18	0	3
3	0	98	2	2	87	11	0	0
4	0	98	2	2	87	6	4	0
5	0	94	6	6	94	0	0	0
6	2	91	7	7	91	2	0	0
	x^2=24.44	12 df	sig. .01**		x^2=41.51	24 df	sig. .02*	
Sex--Male	4	91	6	5	83	8	1	3
Female	0	96	4	4	87	7	2	0
	x^2=7.24	2 df	sig. .03*		x^2=3.25	4 df	sig. .52	
Race--Black	2	93	5	3	87	7	3	0
White	2	94	4	4	85	8	2	2
Other	0	60	40	40	60	0	0	0
	x^2=14.47	4 df	sig. .01**		x^2=17.91	8 df	sig. .02*	
Total Group	2	94	5	4	85	8	2	2

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

grades two, three, four, or five selected a boy. The highest percentage for "both" was in kindergarten (10 per cent); that percentage declined to the fourth grade, when it began rising again to the sixth grade (7 per cent). The reasons for responses were primarily based on unqualified gender associations. Children in kindergarten through the third grade made a gender ability association in greater percentages than the other grade levels.

The sex differences were seen largely in the females selecting the girl in larger percentages than the males. Four per cent of the males chose the boy to receive the jump rope; no females chose the boy. The males also selected "both" slightly more than the females.

Although the tables for both the responses and reasons for responses for the jump rope question showed significant Chi-square values for comparisons by race, there were no observable differences on the tables. The influence of the responses by the "Other" group may have been a factor in the significance of the Chi-square values.

Questions: All Right for a Boy to Be a Cheerleader? Why? (See Table IX.) The total group did not approve of a boy being a cheerleader, primarily for reasons based on unqualified gender associations.

Significant Chi-square values were obtained for both the responses and reasons for responses in comparisons

TABLE IX

All Right for Boy to Be a Cheerleader? Why?

	No %	Yes %	No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Assoc. %	Qual. Gender: Ability %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	60	40	20	50	10	8	13
1	81	20	7	78	5	2	7
2	73	28	20	73	3	3	3
3	75	26	23	70	4	2	0
4	62	38	34	64	0	2	0
5	67	33	31	63	2	2	2
6	45	55	54	45	2	0	0
	x^2=18.07 6 df sig. .01**			x^2=60.47 24 df sig. .00**			
Sex--Male	60	40	34	56	2	4	4
Female	70	31	23	68	5	1	2
	x^2=2.71 1 df sig. .01**			x^2=9.98 4 df sig. .04*			
Race--Black	67	33	22	62	7	3	7
White	65	35	30	63	3	2	2
Other	60	40	40	40	0	20	0
	x^2=.15 2 df sig. .93			x^2=13.96 8 df sig. .08			
Total Group	65	35	29	62	3	3	3

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

by grade and by sex. There were no significant Chi-square values for comparisons by race.

The children in grades one, two, and three were the least favorable toward a boy being a cheerleader. Only at the sixth grade did a majority (55 per cent) of the children indicate approval. The reasoning at all grade levels, except the sixth, was based primarily on unqualified gender associations. Sixth graders' reasons were predominantly in the no gender association category. The kindergarten children had the smallest percentage of any grade in the unqualified gender association category due to a spread of responses in the categories for gender ability, miscellaneous, and "I don't know" responses.

The differences by sex were reflected by a larger percentage of "no" responses coming from the females than the males (70 per cent versus 60 per cent). The majority of the reasons for the responses given by both sexes were in the unqualified gender association category. The females had a higher percentage in this category than the males,who had more responses in the no gender association category than the females.

Questions: All Right for a Girl to Be a Cheerleader? Why? (See Table X.) The total group almost unanimously (98 per cent) approved of a girl being a cheerleader for reasons largely based on unqualified gender associations.

TABLE X

All Right for Girl to Be a Cheerleader? Why?

	No %	Yes %	Don't Know %	No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Assoc. %	Qual. Gender: Ability %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	5	95	0	8	54	8	23	8
1	2	98	0	5	78	7	5	5
2	0	98	3	0	88	3	8	3
3	2	98	0	2	75	17	6	0
4	0	100	0	0	98	0	2	0
5	0	100	0	8	80	2	6	4
6	0	100	0	4	80	9	7	0
	x^2=14.87	12 df	sig. .25		x^2=51.38	24 df	sig. .00**	
Sex--Male	3	98	0	5	81	4	8	3
Female	0	99	1	3	78	9	8	2
	x^2=5.15	2 df	sig. .08		x^2=4.58	4 df	sig. .33	
Race--Black	2	97	2	3	72	12	8	5
White	1	99	0	4	81	6	7	2
Other	0	100	0	0	80	0	20	0
	x^2=4.55	4 df	sig. .34		x^2=6.94	8 df	sig. .54	
Total Group	1	98	0	4	79	7	8	3

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

The only significant Chi-square value for this question was for the reasons for responses when compared by grade.

Although all grades had more than 50 per cent of their reasons in the unqualified gender association category, kindergarten children gave a sizable number of miscellaneous reasons (23 per cent). Third graders mentioned a gender association based on ability in 17 per cent of their responses. The fourth graders had the highest percentage (98 per cent) of any grade in the unqualified gender association category.

Questions: All Right for a Boy to Play Piano Instead of Football? Why? (See Table XI.) The total group reacted favorably to a decision by a boy to play piano instead of football. Reasons for response were largely in the no gender association category, but there was also a considerable percentage of the responses based on the value of the activity, not related to gender, i.e. some children made a judgment that football was a more important activity because of its exercise value while others deemed piano more important because of long range or carry-over values.

There were no significant Chi-square values for the responses or reasons for responses for any of the comparisons by grade, sex, or race.

TABLE XI

All Right for Boy to Play Piano Instead of Football? Why?

	No %	Yes %	Don't Know %	No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Rej. %	Gender Free Act. Value %	Gender Free Spec. Rej. %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	48	53	0	33	20	13	13	10	13
1	34	66	0	39	20	20	7	7	7
2	33	68	0	43	15	30	0	8	5
3	34	64	2	38	4	34	13	6	4
4	32	68	0	49	2	38	6	2	2
5	26	71	4	45	14	28	4	4	6
6	25	75	0	48	9	32	7	4	0
	x^2=14.29	12 df	sig. .28			x^2=40.57	30 df	sig. .09	
Sex--Male	37	61	1	37	12	34	7	6	4
Female	27	72	1	48	11	23	7	6	6
	x^2=4.16	2 df	sig. .13			x^2=6.61	5 df	sig. .25	
Race--Black	38	62	0	35	10	33	8	8	5
White	32	67	1	44	12	27	7	5	5
Other	0	100	0	80	0	20	0	0	0
	x^2=4.17	4 df	sig. .38			x^2=6.00	10 df	sig. .82	
Total Group	32	67	1	43	12	28	7	6	5

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

Questions: All Right for a Girl to Quit Guitar for Softball? Why? (See Table XII.) The total group was almost evenly divided on this question, with 50 per cent voicing approval, 49 per cent disapproval, and 1 per cent saying they did not know.

Significant Chi-square values were found for the responses and reasons for responses when compared by grade and for the responses when compared by sex.

A majority of the children in kindergarten, first, second, and fourth grades expressed disapproval of a girl quitting guitar to play softball. The remainder of the grades indicated approval. Strongest approval came from the sixth grade (68 per cent) followed by the fifth grade (61 per cent). Fourth graders voiced the strongest disapproval (66 per cent) and primarily based their decision on a gender-free judgment related to the values of the activities. Children in kindergarten, second, and third grade also had this as their category of most frequent response. First graders tended to make unqualified gender rejections.

The responses by the males and females for this question were practically reversed, with a slight majority of the males indicating disapproval and a slight majority of the females indicating approval.

TABLE XII

All Right for Girl to Quit Guitar for Softball? Why?

	No %	Yes %	Don't Know %	No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Rej. %	Gender Free Act. Value %	Gender Free Spec. Rej. %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	58	43	0	18	20	25	8	10	20
1	61	37	2	20	37	15	2	17	10
2	53	48	0	25	18	43	3	10	3
3	45	51	4	26	11	34	13	9	9
4	66	34	0	21	9	55	11	4	0
5	39	61	0	51	16	24	2	2	6
6	32	68	0	57	7	30	2	2	2
	x^2=26.93	12 df	sig. .01**		x^2=95.83	30 df	sig. .00**		
Sex--Male	55	45	0	28	17	39	6	5	5
Female	44	54	2	37	15	26	6	9	8
	x^2=6.33	2 df	sig. .04*		x^2=9.99	5 df	sig. .08		
Race--Black	63	35	2	25	17	37	5	8	8
White	47	53	1	34	16	31	6	7	6
Other	20	80	0	60	0	40	0	0	0
	x^2=8.02	4 df	sig. .09		x^2=5.20	10 df	sig. .88		
Total Group	49	50	1	33	16	32	6	7	7

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

Mixed versus Separate Teams

Questions: All Right for a Girl to Play on a Boys' Softball Team? Why? (See Table XIII.) A majority of the total group approved of the girl playing on a boys' softball team. The no gender association category received the highest percentage of reasons for response (31 per cent). A sizable percentage (26 per cent), however, based their decision on an unqualified gender rejection, i.e. softball is for boys only or girls don't play softball. The other category mentioned in reasons for approval was that of a qualified acceptance based on ability, meaning that the girl could play if she were good enough.

Chi-square values were significant for responses and reasons for responses when compared by grade and for reasons for responses when compared by race. No Chi-square values were significant in comparisons by sex.

Kindergarten children were equally divided on the question. A majority of the first graders was opposed to permitting the girl to play, but every other grade was favorable with 60 or more per cent. The reasons mentioned most by kindergarten and first grade children were based on unqualified gender rejections. Second, third, fifth, and sixth graders primarily gave reasons that were in the no gender association category. Fourth graders, however, most frequently made a qualified acceptance of the girl,

TABLE XIII

All Right for Girl to Play on Boys' Softball Team? Why?

	No %	Yes %	Don't Know %	No Gender Assoc. %	Qual. Accept.: Others %	Qual. Accept.: Ability %	Unqual. Gender Rej. %	Gender Rej.: Ability %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	50	50	0	28	0	3	43	5	5	18
1	59	42	0	24	0	2	32	20	10	12
2	33	68	0	38	8	5	13	10	10	18
3	34	66	0	36	9	17	28	4	4	2
4	30	70	0	21	9	34	26	2	4	4
5	35	63	2	31	10	20	26	8	2	4
6	26	75	0	35	11	31	16	2	6	0
	x^2=21.12	12 df	sig. .05*			x^2=86.73	36 df	sig. .00**		
Sex--Male	38	61	1	26	7	21	26	6	6	9
Female	36	64	0	35	7	13	26	8	6	6
	x^2=1.26	2 df	sig. .53			x^2=6.11	6 df	sig. .41		
Race--Black	28	72	0	45	3	12	18	5	7	10
White	40	60	0	27	7	18	28	7	5	7
Other	20	80	0	20	20	20	0	0	40	0
	x^2=3.55	4 df	sig. .47			x^2=24.66	12 df	sig. .02*		
Total Group	37	63	0	31	7	17	26	7	6	8

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

dependent on her ability. A sizable number of sixth graders gave reasons in this category also.

The Blacks had a larger percentage of their responses in the no gender association category than did the Whites (45 per cent versus 27 per cent). Whites had 28 per cent of their reasons based on unqualified gender rejections.

Questions: Who Would You Choose for Your Basketball Team? Why? (See Table XIV.) A majority (67 per cent) of the total group indicated that they would choose both boys and girls to play on their basketball team. Their reasons for response were primarily in the no gender association category (37 per cent) and the qualified gender association category based on fairness (21 per cent), i.e. stating that members of both sexes should be on the team to make the teams be more fair.

The reasons for response when compared by grade yielded a significant Chi-square value. Both the responses and reasons for responses yielded significant Chi-square values when comparisons were made by sex. There were no significant Chi-square values for comparisons by race.

A majority of the children at every grade level stated that they would choose both boys and girls for their basketball team; this did not result in a significant Chi-square value. Kindergarten children made the most unqualified gender associations of any grade. The largest

TABLE XIV

Who Would You Choose for Your Basketball Team? Why?

	Boys %	Girls %	Both %	No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Assoc. %	Qual. Gender: Ability %	Qual. Gender: Fairness %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	35	15	50	23	30	13	10	10	15
1	22	10	68	39	24	12	17	0	7
2	20	8	73	45	13	15	18	3	8
3	21	9	70	32	11	21	23	6	6
4	28	0	72	38	15	17	28	2	0
5	26	6	69	41	18	14	24	2	2
6	36	0	64	41	5	30	23	0	0
	x^2=19.25	12 df	sig. .08		x^2=53.84	30 df	sig. .01**		
Sex--Male	49	0	51	32	21	29	13	2	3
Female	6	12	82	42	11	8	28	4	7
	x^2=88.71	2 df	sig. .00**		x^2=37.85	5 df	sig. .00**		
Race--Black	25	12	63	37	13	22	17	5	7
White	27	5	68	38	16	17	21	3	5
Other	40	0	60	20	20	20	40	0	0
	x^2=4.32	4 df	sig. .37		x^2=4.36	10 df	sig. .93		
Total Group	27	6	67	37	16	18	21	3	5

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

percentage of reasons by the other grade levels was in the category of no gender association. It should be noted, however, that none of these represents a majority. The majority of the students in every grade except the second made some kind of gender association in their reasons for response. The second graders were evenly divided in reasons from the no gender association and combined gender association categories.

Males were nearly split between choosing all boys (49 per cent) and choosing both boys and girls (51 per cent). Females, on the other hand, overwhelmingly (82 per cent) said they would choose both boys and girls. Females did choose all boys 6 per cent of the time, but no male chose all girls. Males were divided in their reasons for responses between the no gender association category (32 per cent) and the category of qualified gender associations based on ability (29 per cent). They also had a number of unqualified gender associations (21 per cent). Females largely gave reasons characteristic of the no gender association category (42 per cent) followed by qualified gender associations based on fairness (28 per cent).

Question: Do Both Boys and Girls Play with You? (See Table XV.) A majority of the total group indicated that both boys and girls played together when they were with their friends.

TABLE XV

Do Both Boys and Girls Play with You?

	No %		Yes %
Grade--K	20		80
1	24		76
2	8		93
3	17		83
4	24		76
5	24		77
6	11		89
	x^2=8.40	6 df	sig. .21
Sex--Male	22		78
Female	14		86
	x^2=2.98	1 df	sig. .08
Race--Black	5		95
White	22		79
Other	0		100
	x^2=10.04	2 df	sig. .01**
Total Group	18		82

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

The only significant Chi-square value for this question was in comparison of response by race.

More Whites than Blacks (22 per cent versus 5 per cent) indicated that they did not play with members of the opposite sex when they were with their friends.

Question: Name a Game Boys and Girls Can Play Together. (See Table XVI.) The most popular games mentioned by the total group were in the categories of non-contact sports (43 per cent) and chasing games (28 per cent).

There was a significant Chi-square value for comparison of responses by grade, but not by sex or race.

Passive games and rhythmic activities were selected only by kindergarten, first, and second grade children. Chasing games were named across all grade levels but were concentrated in grades one through four. A majority of the children in grades three through six named a non-contact sport.

Questions: Name a Game Boys and Girls Should Not Play Together. Why? (See Tables XVII and XVIII.) The games indicated by the total group as inappropriate for joint participation were primarily contact sports (33 per cent). Twenty-nine per cent of the group did say, however, that there were no games boys and girls should not play together. The principal reason given was based on a qualified gender association related to ability (37 per

TABLE XVI

Games Boys and Girls Can Play Together

	Passive Games %	Chasing Games %	Rhythmic Act. %	Lead-Up Games %	Non-Contact %	Contact Sports %	Misc. %	Don't Know %
Grade--K	20	23	20	3	23	8	3	3
1	22	46	5	2	17	5	2	0
2	13	43	3	8	28	3	5	0
3	0	30	2	9	55	4	0	0
4	0	28	0	9	52	2	9	0
5	0	14	0	29	53	2	2	0
6	0	20	0	16	63	0	2	0
			x^2=150.11	42 df	sig. .00**			
Sex--Male	7	29	3	12	44	2	3	1
Female	7	28	4	11	43	4	3	0
			x^2=2.89	7 df	sig. .90			
Race--Black	10	28	0	8	43	3	5	2
White	6	28	4	12	44	3	3	0
Other	0	40	20	20	20	0	0	0
			x^2=14.64	14 df	sig. .40			
Total Group	7	28	4	12	43	3	3	0

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

TABLE XVII

Games Boys and Girls Should Not Play Together

	Passive Games %	Chasing Games %	Rhythmic Act. %	Lead-Up Games %	Non-Contact %	Contact Sports %	Misc. %	None %	Don't Know %
Grade--K	15	5	3	0	25	15	8	30	0
1	5	5	2	0	12	17	0	54	5
2	10	5	13	0	13	20	8	30	3
3	6	0	11	0	17	38	6	21	0
4	7	0	9	2	11	39	9	24	0
5	6	0	8	2	18	41	4	22	0
6	2	0	5	0	13	48	7	25	0
x^2=71.35 48 df sig. .02*									
Sex--Male	4	2	3	0	13	41	10	28	1
Female	10	2	12	1	18	25	3	29	1
x^2=30.74 8 df sig. .00**									
Race--Black	8	2	8	0	13	33	7	27	2
White	6	2	7	1	16	33	6	29	1
Other	20	0	0	0	0	20	0	60	0
x^2=6.56 16 df sig. .98									
Total Group	7	2	7	1	15	33	6	29	1

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

TABLE XVIII

Rationale for Games Not Played Together

	No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Assoc. %	Qual. Gender: Ability %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	28	44	26	0	3
1	55	25	13	3	5
2	30	28	30	3	10
3	21	30	47	2	0
4	24	30	44	2	0
5	22	43	31	2	2
6	25	14	61	0	0
		$x^2=64.34$	30 df	sig. .00**	
Sex--Male	28	24	45	1	2
Female	29	36	30	3	3
		$x^2=11.14$	5 df	sig. .05*	
Race--Black	27	36	34	2	2
White	28	29	38	2	3
Other	60	20	20	0	0
		$x^2=4.07$	10 df	sig. .94	
Total Group	29	30	37	2	3

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

cent). The reasons of 29 per cent of the group were in the no gender association category.

Significant Chi-square values were found for the game named and reasons for naming when comparisons were made by grade and by sex but not by race.

A majority of the first graders indicated that there were no games that could not be played together, the only grade to have a majority response in this category. Contact sports were named with increasing frequency from kindergarten (15 per cent) through the sixth grade (48 per cent). The reasons for responses by children in kindergarten most frequently reflected unqualified gender associations. Reasons given by second graders were divided among three categories: no gender association (30 per cent), qualified gender association based on ability (30 per cent), and unqualified gender association (28 per cent). Children in third, fourth, and sixth grades primarily based their decisions on qualified gender associations related to ability. Fifth graders most frequently made unqualified gender associations in their reasons.

Males most frequently named a contact sport (41 per cent), and secondly said there were no inappropriate games for both sexes (28 per cent). Females most frequently said there were no inappropriate games (29 per cent), followed by contact sports (25 per cent) and non-contact sports (18 per cent). Males tended to base most of their decisions on qualified gender associations related to ability (45 per cent). The category of unqualified gender associations contained the largest percentage of reasons given by females (36 per cent). Females were more divided in their opinions, having 30 per cent of their reasons in each of the no gender association and qualified gender association based on ability categories.

Expectations

Ability and Success

Questions: Who Would Win at Tennis? Why? (See Table XIX.) A majority of the total group indicated that the boy would win in a tennis match against a girl. Reasoning was most commonly based on qualified gender associations related to ability (37 per cent) and unqualified gender associations (29 per cent).

Significant Chi-square values for the responses and reasons for responses were obtained when comparisons were made by grade and by race. No significant Chi-square values were found for comparisons by sex.

A majority of the children at every grade level indicated that the boy would win at tennis. The percentage who said that either the boy or the girl might win generally increased by grade from kindergarten on. The percentages favoring the boy were highest in the first (78 per

TABLE XIX

Who Would Win at Tennis? Why?

	Boy %	Girl %	Either %	No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Assoc. %	Qual. Gender: Ability %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	65	35	0	0	28	33	18	23
1	78	20	2	2	34	39	7	17
2	68	25	8	8	30	38	3	23
3	79	15	6	6	36	38	11	9
4	55	23	21	21	30	38	6	4
5	61	20	20	20	20	39	4	18
6	63	11	27	30	27	36	4	4
	x^2=34.77	12 df	sig. .00**		x^2=54.22	24 df	sig. .00**	
Sex--Male	67	20	14	14	29	39	8	11
Female	67	21	12	13	29	36	7	15
	x^2=.30	2 df	sig. .86		x^2=.92	4 df	sig. .92	
Race--Black	73	22	5	5	32	40	5	18
White	65	20	15	16	29	37	7	12
Other	40	60	0	20	0	40	40	0
	x^2=9.51	4 df	sig. .05*		x^2=15.97	8 df	sig. .04*	
Total Group	67	21	13	14	29	37	7	13

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

cent) and third (79 per cent) grades and lowest in the fourth grade (55 per cent). Kindergarten children had the highest percentage for the girl (35 per cent) and sixth grade the lowest (11 per cent), with several fluctuations in between. The category of qualified gender associations based on ability consistently received the highest percentage of reasons, but in no grade did this constitute a majority. Unqualified gender associations were made frequently by children in kindergarten through the fourth grade. The remaining percentages for the fifth and sixth graders were divided between the unqualified gender association and no gender association categories.

The Blacks picked the boy to win in even greater percentages than the Whites (73 per cent versus 65 per cent), but they also picked the girl to win in greater percentages than the Whites (22 per cent versus 20 per cent). The Blacks, however, were less inclined to say that either might have a chance to win. Reasons for responses by the Blacks were predominantly based on qualified gender associations related to ability (40 per cent) and unqualified gender associations (32 per cent). The "I don't know" category contained 18 per cent of their responses. Whites gave reasons that were similarly distributed with the exception that they had fewer in the "I don't know" and more in the no gender association categories.

Questions: Who Would Win a Swimming Race? Why?

(See Table XX.) The total group most frequently picked the boy to win the swimming race (43 per cent), followed by the girl (30 per cent) and either having a chance (27 per cent). Reasons for responses were gender associations based on ability a majority of the time (50 per cent).

Comparisons by grade yielded significant Chi-square values for both the responses and reasons for responses. Comparisons by race yielded a significant Chi-square value for responses given, but not for the reasons for response. There were no significant Chi-square values for comparisons by sex.

Even though percentages for the total group reflected a preference for the boy to win, there was a steady increase in the per cent of responses for either having a chance from kindergarten through the sixth grade, with the exception of the third grade. In the fifth and sixth grades, the largest percentages were in the "either" category (45 per cent and 52 per cent, respectively). There was a sharp contrast in the responses between the first and second grade children. First graders had the highest percentage of responses for the boy of any grade. This percentage was almost halved at the second grade level, and the girl received the highest percentage of responses from the second graders (40 per cent). The percentage favoring the boy rose again at the third

TABLE XX

Who Would Win a Swimming Race? Why?

	Boy %	Girl %	Either %	No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Assoc. %	Qual. Gender: Ability %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	58	40	3	3	8	65	18	8
1	68	27	5	5	5	68	7	15
2	35	40	25	20	8	45	5	23
3	51	36	13	13	15	64	4	4
4	43	23	34	34	15	43	2	6
5	33	22	45	45	8	41	6	0
6	21	27	52	52	11	30	2	5
	x^2=61.72	12 df	sig. .00**		x^2=88.04	24 df	sig. .00**	
Sex--Male	47	25	29	28	10	51	6	6
Female	39	35	26	25	10	49	6	10
	x^2=4.44	2 df	sig. .11		x^2=1.56	4 df	sig. .82	
Race--Black	40	43	17	15	8	53	8	15
White	43	27	30	30	11	48	5	7
Other	60	40	0	0	0	100	0	0
	x^2=9.57	4 df	sig. .05*		x^2=14.50	8 df	sig. .07	
Total Group	43	30	27	26	10	50	6	8

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

grade level, with the percentage for the girl remaining at a level close to that given by the second grade children.

With the exception of the third grade, the percentages in the no gender association category generally increased by grade. The largest percentages of reasons given by children in kindergarten through the fourth grade were in the category of qualified gender associations based on ability. The fifth and sixth grades reflected a predominance of reasons in the no gender association category.

The Whites favored the boy to win the swimming race, but by contrast, the Blacks favored the girl to win. The second most frequent response by the Blacks was to favor the boy, thus once again selecting the boy or the girl in preference to the response of "either." Whites tended to respond with "either," second to boy.

Questions: Who Can Do the Better Cartwheel? Why? (See Table XXI.) The total group overwhelmingly (82 per cent) favored the girl to do the better cartwheel. Reasoning was based primarily (45 per cent) on unqualified gender associations followed by qualified gender associations related to ability (39 per cent).

Significant Chi-square values were found for both the responses and reasons for responses when comparisons were made by grade and by race. Comparisons by sex yielded no significant Chi-square values.

TABLE XXI

Who Can Do the Better Cartwheel? Why?

	Boy %	Girl %	Either %	No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Assoc. %	Qual. Gender: Ability %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	35	63	3	3	33	35	23	8
1	37	61	2	2	32	44	20	2
2	5	85	10	5	38	45	3	10
3	9	89	2	0	60	36	2	2
4	4	89	6	6	47	45	2	0
5	2	88	10	10	51	37	0	2
6	0	91	9	11	52	36	0	2
	x^2=65.92	12 df	sig. .00**		x^2=65.02	24 df	sig. .00**	
Sex--Male	16	79	5	5	44	41	7	4
Female	8	85	7	6	47	38	6	3
	x^2=5.22	2 df	sig. .07		x^2=.85	4 df	sig. .93	
Race--Black	22	72	7	3	38	40	8	10
White	9	85	6	6	47	40	5	2
Other	40	60	0	0	60	0	40	0
	x^2=11.75	4 df	sig. .02*		x^2=23.59	8 df	sig. .00**	
Total Group	12	82	6	6	45	39	6	3

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

The percentages of responses favoring the girl generally increased with grade while the percentages favoring the boy generally decreased with grade. No sixth grader thought a boy might do the better cartwheel. Reasons were primarily in the categories of unqualified gender association and qualified gender association based on ability. In kindergarten, first, and second grades the highest percentage was in the qualified gender association category. From the third grade on the highest percentage was in the unqualified gender association category.

Although both Blacks and Whites believed the girl could do the better cartwheel, the Whites did so to a greater extent (85 per cent versus 72 per cent). Blacks had a higher percentage of responses favoring the boy than the Whites (22 per cent versus 9 per cent). For reasons for responses, Blacks and Whites were both divided between the categories of unqualified gender association and qualified gender association based on ability. The Whites had a greater percentage of unqualified gender association reasons, however (47 per cent versus 38 per cent). Blacks gave more reasons which were miscellaneous or "I don't know" than the Whites did.

Questions: Who Can Throw Farther? Why? (See Table XXII.) The total group overwhelmingly selected the boy to throw farther (88 per cent). Reasons were

TABLE XXII

Who Can Throw Farther? Why?

	Boy %	Girl %	Either %	No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Assoc. %	Qual. Gender: Ability %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	78	15	8	8	18	53	15	8
1	93	7	0	0	32	56	0	12
2	88	0	13	10	43	43	3	3
3	98	0	2	2	38	57	2	0
4	85	6	9	9	45	43	4	0
5	84	4	12	12	45	39	0	4
6	91	2	7	5	39	52	0	4
	x^2=24.36	12 df	sig. .02*		x^2=52.05	24 df	sig. .00**	
Sex--Male	91	4	5	4	37	54	3	3
Female	85	6	9	9	38	44	4	6
	x^2=2.68	2 df	sig. .26		x^2=5.83	4 df	sig. .21	
Race--Black	90	8	2	0	27	60	5	8
White	88	4	8	8	40	46	3	3
Other	80	0	20	20	40	40	0	0
	x^2=6.42	4 df	sig. .17		x^2=14.68	8 df	sig. .07	
Total Group	88	5	7	7	38	49	3	4

*Significant at .05 level

**Significant at .01 level

TABLE XXIII

Who Can Run Faster? Why?

	Boy %	Girl %	Either %	No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Assoc. %	Qual. Gender: Ability %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	78	10	13	10	15	58	15	3
1	78	7	15	15	32	39	10	5
2	58	15	28	28	25	33	3	13
3	64	2	34	30	11	53	4	2
4	47	11	43	43	21	34	2	0
5	33	10	57	57	18	22	2	2
6	46	4	50	46	20	29	2	4
	x^2=42.40	12 df	sig. .00**		x^2=66.36	24 df	sig. .00**	
Sex--Male	54	6	41	39	21	32	5	3
Female	59	10	31	29	19	43	5	4
	x^2=4.49	2 df	sig. .11		x^2=5.40	4 df	sig. .25	
Race--Black	58	20	22	20	20	43	10	7
White	56	5	39	38	20	35	4	3
Other	60	20	20	20	20	60	0	0
	x^2=19.01	4 df	sig. .00**		x^2=12.05	8 df	sig. .15	
Total Group	56	8	36	34	20	37	5	4

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

might be able to run faster. Qualified gender associations based on ability were made most frequently by the total group, followed closely by reasons reflecting no gender association.

There were significant Chi-square values for both the responses and reasons for responses when compared by grade and for the responses when compared by race.

A majority of the children in kindergarten through grade three favored the boy for running faster. Fourth grade children were divided between the boy and either having a chance, with the higher percentage going to the boy. A majority of the children in the fifth and sixth grades, however, responded that either might be able to run fast enough to win. Second graders had the highest percentage of responses of any grade favoring the girl (15 per cent).

From kindergarten through the third grade, the reasons for responses most frequently came in the qualified gender association category related to ability. From the fourth grade through the sixth grade, the no gender association category had the largest percentage of responses.

Both Blacks and Whites chose the boy to run faster in similar percentages (58 per cent and 56 per cent, respectively). There was a marked difference in their responses favoring the girl or favoring "either." Blacks chose the girl in much greater percentage than the Whites

(20 per cent versus 5 per cent), while Whites were more inclined to say that either might be able to run faster (39 per cent versus 22 per cent).

Questions: Who Can Jump Higher? Why? (See Table XXIV.) The total group was divided in its choice among all three responses, with a slightly higher percentage favoring the boy (37 per cent). The girl was chosen by 33 per cent of the total group, with the remaining 30 per cent stating that either might be able to jump higher.

Significant Chi-square values were found for the responses and reasons for responses when compared by grade, the reasons for responses when compared by sex, and the responses and reasons for responses when compared by race.

In kindergarten and first grade the majority chose the boy, while in the second grade the majority selected the girl. Third graders were evenly divided between the boy and the girl. Fourth graders most frequently chose the boy, while those in the fifth and sixth grades most frequently gave "either" as their response.

The category of gender associations based on ability accounted for the largest percentages of reasons given by kindergarten and first grade children. Second and fourth grade children had the largest percentage of their reasons in the unqualified gender association category. The reasons given by the third graders were

TABLE XXIV

Who Can Jump Higher? Why?

	Boy %	Girl %	Either %	No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Assoc. %	Qual. Gender: Ability %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	50	45	5	5	28	35	18	15
1	54	37	10	10	27	37	2	24
2	23	53	25	20	43	25	0	13
3	36	36	28	26	32	32	2	9
4	40	26	34	32	49	17	0	2
5	26	29	45	39	33	20	2	6
6	36	16	48	43	29	21	0	7
	x^2=46.60	12 df	sig. .00**		x^2=78.52	24 df	sig. .00**	
Sex--Male	41	29	31	29	37	27	1	6
Female	34	38	28	24	32	26	5	14
	x^2=3.22	2 df	sig. .20		x^2=9.52	4 df	sig. .05*	
Race--Black	38	50	12	8	48	27	5	8
White	37	30	34	30	31	26	2	11
Other	40	20	40	40	20	20	20	0
	x^2=14.43	4 df	sig. .01**		x^2=17.47	8 df	sig. .03*	
Total Group	37	33	30	26	34	26	3	10

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

divided between the unqualified gender association and qualified gender association categories (32 per cent each) with a substantial portion also in the no gender association category (26 per cent). Fifth and sixth graders most frequently gave reasons in the no gender association category, and secondly in the unqualified gender association category.

Males and females differed in the reasons they gave for their responses with higher percentages of males answering in the no gender association and unqualified gender association categories, while higher percentages of females gave miscellaneous or "I don't know" reasons.

While the largest percentage of Whites favored the boy to jump higher (37 per cent), a majority (50 per cent) of the Blacks chose the girl to jump higher. Once again the Blacks were more inclined to state that the boy or the girl would jump higher, as opposed to stating that either might be able to jump higher. Whites chose "either" 34 per cent of the time, Blacks only 12 per cent.

In giving reasons for responses, Blacks had a higher percentage in the unqualified gender association category than the Whites (48 per cent versus 31 per cent). Whites had a much higher percentage of reasons in the no gender association category than the Blacks (30 per cent versus 8 per cent).

Opportunity

Questions: Which Volleyball Game Should be on Television? Why? (See Table XXV.) The total group favored the men's volleyball game to be on television, though not by a sizable percentage over the women's game (42 per cent versus 36 per cent). The most frequent reason given for the response was a qualified gender association based on ability.

Comparisons by grade and by sex yielded significant Chi-square values for both the responses and reasons for responses. There were no significant Chi-square values for comparisons by race.

Children in kindergarten through the second grade favored the men's game for television, particularly at the first grade level (71 per cent). Third and fourth graders favored the women, while the highest percentages given by fifth graders went evenly to the women and "both." Sixth graders returned with favoritism for the men.

The category for qualified gender associations based on ability received the highest percentage given by kindergarten children (30 per cent), but 23 per cent of the children gave an "I don't know" answer. A majority of the first graders made gender associations based on ability. The largest percentage of second graders made gender associations based on ability (33 per cent), but 25 per cent based their reasons on a rejection of present

TABLE XXV

Which Volleyball Game Should Be on Television? Why?

	Men %	Women %	Both %		No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Assoc. %	Qual. Gender: Ability %	Accep. Present Prac. %	Rej. Present Prac. %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	53	40	8		8	13	30	8	13	8	23
1	71	24	5		5	5	51	7	10	7	15
2	45	40	15		15	10	33	8	25	3	8
3	30	43	28		28	4	30	4	23	11	0
4	28	47	26		26	17	19	2	30	6	0
5	29	35	35		35	2	29	4	24	0	6
6	45	23	32		32	18	25	9	13	4	0
	x^2=39.32	12 df	sig.	.00**			x^2=85.98	36 df	sig. .00**		
Sex--Male	49	26	25		24	14	33	4	15	6	4
Female	35	45	20		21	6	28	7	24	5	9
	x^2=13.13	2 df	sig.	.00**			x^2=13.79	6 df	sig. .03*		
Race--Black	45	40	15		13	3	38	3	25	7	10
White	41	35	24		25	11	29	7	18	5	6
Other	60	20	20		20	20	20	0	40	0	0
	x^2=3.11	4 df	sig. .54				x^2=13.64	12 df	sig. .33		
Total Group	42	36	22		22	10	30	6	20	5	7

*Significant at .05 level

**Significant at .01 level

television practices, i.e. stating that since games of one sex were predominantly televised, the game of the other sex should be on. Third and fifth graders were divided among the no gender association, ability gender association, and rejection of present practices categories. The highest percentage of reasons from the fourth grade children came from a rejection of present practices, followed by reasons in the no gender association category. Sixth graders were largely divided in their reasons between the no gender association and ability gender association categories, followed by unqualified gender associations.

The males tended to favor the men's game to be on television, while the females tended to favor the women's game to be on television. More females chose the men's game, however, than males chose the women's game. Males had a slightly higher percentage of responses for both games to be on television than the females (25 per cent versus 20 per cent).

The greatest percentage differences between the sexes were in the rejection of present practices, unqualified gender association, "I don't know," and gender ability association categories. Males had a higher percentage of unqualified gender associations and gender ability associations. Females had a higher percentage of reasons based on a rejection of present practices, as well as more "I don't know" responses.

Questions: Who Should Get First Choice of Practice Times in the Gym? Why? (See Table XXVI.) A majority of the total group favored the girls for first choice of practice times, largely on the basis of unqualified gender associations.

There were significant Chi-square values for the responses and reasons for responses when comparisons were made by grade, but not when comparisons were made by sex or race.

The largest percentage of responses by children in every grade except kindergarten favored the girls for first choice of practice times in the gym. Second graders were especially strong in this response (78 per cent). The majority of the kindergarten children favored the boys for first choice of practice times. The percentages favoring "both" generally increased by grade.

Unqualified gender associations accounted for the largest percentage of responses at every grade level. The percentages in the qualified gender association category related to ability generally decreased by grade, while the percentage of reasons in the no gender association category generally increased by grade. It was noteworthy that the reasons with gender ability associations were largely

TABLE XXVI

Who Should Get First Choice of Practice Times in Gym? Why?

	Boy %	Girl %	Both %	Don't Know %	No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Assoc. %	Qual. Gender: Ability %	Qual. Gender: Act. Value %	Qual. Gender: Lack of Op. %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	62	36	0	3	0	46	31	3	3	5	13
1	45	53	3	0	3	45	25	0	0	10	18
2	18	78	5	0	5	40	13	3	18	5	18
3	32	55	11	2	13	38	17	11	11	2	9
4	21	57	21	0	21	36	11	9	15	4	4
5	28	43	28	2	26	43	10	4	8	6	4
6	34	39	27	0	27	30	7	21	7	2	5
	x^2=56.05 18 df sig. .00**						x^2=84.88 36 df sig. .00**				
Sex--Male	36	45	18	1	17	39	15	10	9	4	7
Female	31	57	12	1	12	40	16	6	9	6	12
	x^2=5.65 3 df sig. .13						x^2=4.98 6 df sig. .55				
Race--Black	37	59	2	2	3	51	20	5	7	5	9
White	32	50	18	1	17	36	15	8	9	5	10
Other	60	20	20	0	20	60	0	20	0	0	0
	x^2=12.12 6 df sig. .06						x^2=14.48 12 df sig. .27				
Total Group	33	51	15	1	15	39	15	8	9	5	9

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

negative, i.e. girls need more practice. The ability gender associations for the other questions were largely positive.

Questions: All Right for Women to Earn Money By Being in Sports? Why? (See Table XXVII.) The total group overwhelmingly favored allowing women to earn money by being in sports (90 per cent), giving reasons that largely reflected no gender associations.

There were significant Chi-square values for the responses and reasons for responses when compared by grade and for the responses when compared by sex.

The majority of the children in every grade approved of women earning money through sports. The largest percentages of disapproval came from kindergarten and first grade children. There were no children who disapproved in fourth grade.

The largest percentage of reasons for responses given at every grade level was in the no gender association category, although at the kindergarten level a substantial percentage answered "I don't know," and at the first grade level almost as many made a qualified gender association based on financial need, i.e. indicating that women need to have money for shopping, etc.

More negative or disapproving responses were made by the males than the females (14 per cent versus 6 per cent).

TABLE XXVII

All Right for Women to Earn Money in Sports? Why?

	No %	Yes %	No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Assoc. %	Qual. Gender: Ability %	Qual. Finan. Need %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	23	78	35	15	5	15	8	23
1	32	68	27	15	15	24	2	17
2	8	93	50	10	5	20	8	8
3	2	98	80	4	0	9	0	7
4	0	100	83	0	2	11	2	2
5	6	94	75	4	2	10	4	6
6	5	95	82	5	0	4	5	4
$x^2=39.02$	6df	sig. .00**		$x^2=85.70$	30 df	sig. .00**		
Sex--Male	14	86	64	10	6	11	3	7
Female	6	94	63	5	2	14	6	11
$x^2=4.60$	1 df	sig. .03*		$x^2=9.17$	5 df	sig. .10		
Race--Black	10	90	55	8	2	22	3	10
White	10	90	66	7	4	10	4	9
Other	0	100	60	0	0	20	20	0
$x^2=.57$	2 df	sig. .75		$x^2=11.50$	10 df	sig. .32		
Total Group	10	90	64	7	4	13	4	9

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

Rewards

Questions: Who Would Get More Money for Winning a Race? Why? (See Table XXVIII.) The largest percentage of the total group favored giving the man and woman an equal amount of money for winning a race. Reasoning was primarily from the no gender association category.

Comparisons of the responses and reasons for responses by grade and by race yielded significant Chi-square values. Comparison of the responses by sex also resulted in a significant Chi-square value.

Children in kindergarten, first, and second grades chose the man to receive more money most often; this was especially true in kindergarten where the man was named 65 per cent of the time. Children in grades three through six primarily favored both the man and woman getting the same amount; the percentages for this response generally increased by grade.

Kindergarten, first, and second grade children primarily based their judgments on qualified gender associations related to ability. Those in grades three through six most frequently gave reasons that had no gender associations; in fact, for grades four through six the no gender association category contained a majority of all reasons.

Although the greatest percentage of both males and females indicated that an equal amount of money should

TABLE XXVIII

Who Should Get More Money for Winning a Race? Why?

	Man %	Woman %	Both %	Don't Know %	No Gender Assoc. %	Unqual. Gender Assoc. %	Qual. Gender: Ability %	Qual. Gender: Atyp. Achiev. %	Misc. %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	65	30	5	0	5	25	48	5	13	5
1	44	37	20	0	20	15	49	2	2	12
2	40	23	38	0	38	8	43	3	3	8
3	34	21	45	0	43	9	32	6	2	9
4	21	23	55	0	55	9	19	15	0	2
5	18	12	69	2	71	12	12	2	0	4
6	18	14	66	2	66	9	14	9	0	2
	x^2=71.21 18 df sig. .00**						x^2=103.45 30 df sig. .00**			
Sex--Male	39	11	49	1	49	13	28	5	1	4
Female	26	32	41	1	40	11	31	7	4	7
	x^2=21.28 3 df sig. .00**						x^2=6.18 5 df sig. .29			
Race--Black	47	33	20	0	18	15	47	7	3	10
White	30	19	51	1	51	11	25	6	2	5
Other	20	40	40	0	40	0	20	20	20	0
	x^2=20.54 6 df sig. .00**						x^2=31.56 10 df sig. .00**			
Total Group	33	22	45	1	45	12	29	6	3	6

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

be given to the man and the woman, the males had a higher percentage of responses in this category than the females (49 per cent versus 41 per cent). The next highest percentage of both males and females picked their own sex to receive more money, but a smaller percentage of females picked the woman than males picked the man. Considerably more females named the man than males named the woman (26 per cent versus 11 per cent).

A majority of the Whites favored both the man and woman getting the same amount of money, but the largest percentage of responses by the Blacks favored the man to get more. Blacks secondly picked the woman, and once again were least inclined to select the response "both."

The races also differed in their reasons for response. The majority of the Whites gave reasons in the no gender association category. The reasons most frequently given by the Blacks were gender associations based on ability.

Question: What Prizes Should Be Given to the Man and the Woman? Comparisons of Prizes by Value, Gender Association, and Active-Passive Connotations. (See Tables XXIX, XXX, XXXI, XXXII.) The total group was split in its response to the kinds of prizes to be awarded in lieu of money, with 35 per cent giving a trophy to both the man and woman and 34 per cent giving different prizes (non-toys) to the man and the woman. The majority of the

TABLE XXIX

What Prizes Should Be Given to Man and Woman?

	Same Prizes Trophy %	Same Prizes Other %	Diff. Toy for Male %	Diff. Toy for Female %	Diff. Non-Toys %	Diff. Both Toys %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	3	8	5	18	60	8	0
1	12	7	2	17	51	10	0
2	40	8	0	10	30	8	5
3	38	19	0	11	30	2	0
4	46	20	0	2	30	0	2
5	51	24	0	2	22	2	0
6	43	30	0	0	25	0	2
			x^2=101.97	36 df	sig. .00**		
Sex--Male	39	19	1	4	31	5	1
Female	30	16	1	11	37	3	2
			x^2=10.55	6 df	sig. .10		
Race--Black	18	12	2	15	40	10	3
White	38	19	1	6	33	2	1
Other	60	0	0	20	20	0	0
			x^2=26.78	12 df	sig. .01**		
Total Group	35	17	1	8	34	4	1

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

TABLE XXX

Value of Prizes

	Same Value %	Male Value Greater %	Female Value Greater %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	40	40	20	0
1	56	34	10	0
2	68	15	13	5
3	77	17	6	0
4	67	22	9	2
5	84	12	4	0
6	79	14	5	2
		x^2=39.03 18 df sig. .00**		
Sex--Male	71	20	8	1
Female	66	22	10	2
		x^2=1.54 3 df sig. .67		
Race--Black	50	30	17	3
White	73	19	7	1
Other	60	40	0	0
		x^2=15.24 6 df sig. .02*		
Total Group	69	21	9	1

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

TABLE XXXI

Gender Associations of Prizes

	No Gender Assoc. %	Gender Assoc. Both %	Gender Assoc. Male %	Gender Assoc. Female %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	28	60	8	5	0
1	22	66	2	10	0
2	48	33	3	13	5
3	62	30	0	9	0
4	67	22	2	7	2
5	77	22	2	0	0
6	79	20	0	0	2
		x^2=78.83	24 df	sig. .00**	
Sex--Male	61	32	1	6	1
Female	52	37	4	6	2
		x^2=6.20	4 df	sig. .19	
Race--Black	42	50	0	5	3
White	60	31	3	6	1
Other	60	40	0	0	0
		x^2=13.13	8 df	sig. .11	
Total Group	57	34	2	6	1

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

TABLE XXXII

Active-Passive Prize Connotations

	Both Prizes Active %	Both Prizes Passive %	Male-Active Female Passive %	Female Active Male-Passive %	I Don't Know %
Grade--K	30	25	43	3	0
1	17	22	54	7	0
2	10	48	35	3	5
3	26	49	21	4	0
4	30	57	9	2	2
5	31	57	12	0	0
6	34	54	7	4	2
			$x^2=68.78$ 24 df sig. .00**		
Sex--Male	27	50	20	3	1
Female	26	41	28	4	2
			$x^2=4.50$ 4 df sig. .34		
Race--Black	17	35	40	5	3
White	29	48	20	3	1
Other	20	60	20	0	0
			$x^2=16.08$ 8 df sig. .04*		
Total Group	26	46	24	3	1

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

total group gave prizes of the same value to members of both sexes and therefore made no gender associations with the prizes they named. The prizes given were most frequently passive in nature, i.e. a trophy, ribbon, or medal.

There were significant Chi-square values for the responses to the naming of prizes when comparisons were made by grade and by race, but not by sex. The analysis of prize values yielded significant Chi-square values for comparisons by grade and by race. A significant Chi-square value was obtained for the comparisons by grade of the gender associations made with the prizes named. The active-passive associations of prizes resulted in significant Chi-square values for comparisons by grade and race.

Different prizes for the man and woman were named by a majority of the kindergarten and first grade children and by half of the second grade children. The number of children naming the same prize for the man and the woman generally increased from grade three through six. Within these latter grades the most frequent prize named was a trophy.

A majority of the Whites named the same prizes for a man and a woman, whereas a majority of the Blacks named different prizes for the man and the woman. The differences between the Whites and the Blacks were most pronounced in the percentages naming a trophy; 38 per cent of the Whites versus 18 per cent of the Blacks responded in this category.

Kindergarten children had equal percentages in the categories for same value of prizes and greater value of male prize. A majority of the children in every other grade named prizes of the same value for the man and the woman.

Whites were much more likely to name prizes of the same value than the Blacks (73 per cent versus 50 per cent). Blacks named prizes of greater value for the male 30 per cent of the time and for the female 17 per cent of the time, compared to the respective percentages of 19 and 7 by the Whites. Of those who named a prize of greater value for one sex, however, the Whites proportionally named the male more often than the Blacks.

A majority of the children in kindergarten and the first grade made gender associations with the prizes they named for the man and the woman. Children in grades two through six made no gender associations with the prizes they named the majority of the time.

The prizes named by kindergarten and first grade children most frequently were active for the male and passive for the female. From the second grade on, both prizes most frequently were passive in nature, reflecting the increased awarding of trophies. Where there were differences, however, they continued to be primarily characterized as an active male prize and a passive female prize.

The greatest percentage of prizes named by the Blacks were characterized by an active male prize and a passive female prize. The greatest percentage of prizes named by the Whites were passive in nature for both sexes, again a reflection of the larger trophy selection.

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SUMMARY

Table XXXIII provides a summary of the sources of the statistically significant Chi-square values. The major source of significant differences in responses was in the comparisons by grade.

Acceptability

Kinds of Activities

Gender-related attitudes were evidenced across all grade levels in the children's responses to questions regarding the acceptability of participation in various activities. A majority of the total group indicated that a football, golf clubs, and a basketball were gifts that a boy would like, while rollerskates and a jump rope were designated as gifts for a girl. Only the bicycle was considered appropriate for both a boy and a girl by a majority of the total group. The total group approved of girls being cheerleaders, but not of boys being cheerleaders. The total group also approved of a boy playing piano instead of football, but they were equally divided on the question of a girl quitting guitar to play softball.

Children in the lower grades made the greatest gender differentiations in acceptability of activities.

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TABLE XXXIII

Summary of Comparisons With Significant Chi-Square Values

	By Grade	By Sex	By Race
ACCEPTABILITY: Kinds of Activities			
Who Would Like Rollerskates	x	x	
Why			
Who Would Like a Football	x		
Why	x		
Who Would Like a Bicycle	x		
Why	x		x
Who Would Like Golf Clubs	x		x
Why	x		
Who Would Like a Jump Rope	x	x	x
Why	x		x
All Right for Boy to Play Piano Instead of Football			
Why			
All Right for Boy to Be a Cheerleader	x	x	
Why	x	x	
All Right for Girl to Be a Cheerleader			
Why	x		
All Right for Girl to Quit Guitar for Softball	x	x	
Why			
ACCEPTABILITY: Mixed versus Separate Teams			
All Right for Girl to Play on Boys' Softball Team	x		
Why	x		x
Do Both Boys and Girls Play Together With You			x

TABLE XXXIII (cont'd.)

	By Grade	By Sex	By Race
Game Can Play Together	x		
Game Should Not Play Together	x	x	
Why	x	x	
Who Would You Choose for Your Basketball Team		x	
Why	x	x	
EXPECTATIONS: Ability and Success			
Who Would Win in Tennis	x		x
Why	x		x
Who Would Win a Swimming Race	x		x
Why	x		
Who Can Do the Better Cartwheel	x		x
Why	x		x
Who Can Throw Farther	x		
Why	x		
Who Can Run Faster	x		x
Why	x		
Who Can Jump Higher	x		x
Why	x	x	x
EXPECTATIONS: Opportunity			
Which Volleyball Game Should Be On Television	x	x	
Why	x	x	
Who Should Get First Choice of Practice Times in the Gymnasium	x		
Why	x		

TABLE XXXIII (cont'd.)

	By Grade	By Sex	By Race
Should Women Be Able to Earn Money in Sports	x	x	
Why	x		
EXPECTATIONS: Rewards			
Who Should Get More Money for Winning a Race	x	x	x
Why	x		x
Nature of Prize	x		x
Value of Prize	x		x
Gender Association of Prize	x		
Active-Passive Connotation of Prize	x		x
SUB-TOTALS:			
Number of Questions With Significant Chi-Square Values for Original Responses	19	8	10
Number of Questions With Significant Chi-Square Values for Reasons for Responses	26	6	10
TOTALS	45	14	20

Kindergarten and first grade children were least likely to respond that both boys and girls might like to participate in the various activities. Responses favoring "both" did generally increase by grade, but even so in the reasons for response the greatest percentage was most frequently in the unqualified gender association category across all grade levels.

When the activities were examined in total, it was evident that boys were associated primarily with sports activities, and further, that more flexibility was accorded the boy in choice of activities. In the responses of the total group, the jump rope was associated with the girl in a degree similar to that which the football was associated with the boy. There was a small percentage of children in the fifth and sixth grades, however, who said that both might like a jump rope, but did not make the same allowance for both liking a football. A further example of broader role associations for the boy was seen in the sixth grade where a majority of the children approved of a boy being a cheerleader. As noted previously, the total group indicated that it was more acceptable for a boy to choose a musical activity over a sports activity than for a girl to choose a sports activity over a musical activity.

There were significant Chi-square values for only four items in this category when comparisons were made by sex. There was some indication that the males were more liberal in attitudes toward the male role than the females were. No female stated that a boy might like a jump rope; there were some male responses favoring the boy, as well as more responses by the males than the females that both might like a jump rope. It was also the females who were more negative toward a boy being a cheerleader. In attitudes toward the female role, however, the females showed the more liberal view in their approval of a girl quitting guitar to play softball. Males, on the other hand, disapproved.

There were few questions regarding acceptability for which there were significant Chi-square values for comparisons by race. Blacks showed a stronger preference than the Whites for the boy to receive a basketball. For the question regarding golf clubs, the Blacks showed more preference for the boy or the girl as opposed to saying "both."

Mixed versus Separate Teams

Children in kindergarten and first grade expressed negative attitudes toward a girl playing on a boys' softball team, paralleling the gender associations they made with boys for sports activities in the preceding section. A superior gender ability was associated with the boys in the reasons for responses for the question of who would be chosen for a basketball team. It was further mentioned that girls should be on the same basketball team as the boys in order for the girls to have a fair chance to play. Although the highest single percentage of reasons for response for questions in this section was frequently in the no gender association category, a majority of the reasons given in every grade reflected some kind of gender association for two of three questions in this section.

A majority of the children indicated that in play with their friends both boys and girls played together, but there is a possibility that some children responded in terms of their physical education classes. The question did not specifically refer to a particular time or place. A few children did ask for a clarification, and they were told the question referred to play at home or at recess, but the question may have been interpreted differently by some children.

Differences by grade level in choices of games acceptable for boys and girls to play together were consistent with the interests typically identified in elementary school physical education textbooks, i.e. the games named increased in complexity, organization, and teamwork with grade. The games rejected for coeducational participation increasingly by grade were contact sports, which were named largely in relation to a superior ability of the boys with an accompanying need for protecting the girls.

Males showed a stronger preference for selecting their own gender for a basketball team than did the females, basing their reasons on gender ability associations. It was the females who overwhelmingly picked "both" and more often mentioned fairness as a factor in decision. In part this seemed to reflect a lack of confidence by the females in their own gender. There was a further sex difference in response to this question with the females being more likely to respond in favor of the boy than the males were to respond in favor of the girl.

The principal racial difference in this category was a larger percentage of Black responses that both boys and girls play together when they are with their friends.

Expectations

Ability and Success

The male gender association with participation in sports activities was extended to excelling in sports activities as well. The total group indicated that more frequently boys would win at tennis, win a swimming race, throw a ball farther, run faster, and jump higher. The only activity in which the girl was considered superior was doing a cartwheel. The children in the primary grades most often showed the strongest support for the male role. For the questions relating to swimming, tennis, running, and jumping, however, the percentages favoring "either" generally increased by grade. This was reflected in an increase by grade in reasons with no gender associations accompanied by a decrease in reasons with qualified gender associations related to ability.

Males and females had similar performance expectations; hence, there were few significant differences for comparisons by sex.

The Blacks differed from the Whites in two principal areas in the category of expectations. The largest percentage of Blacks favored the girl to win the swimming race and the girl to jump higher, as opposed to the Whites who favored the boy. The Blacks tended to respond in favor of the boy or of the girl to excel, rather than stating that "either" might win or do better.

Opportunity

The total group showed a preference for the men's volleyball game to be on television, the girls to have first choice of practice times in the gym, and the women to be able to earn money through sports. Kindergarten and first grade children again showed the most support for the male sex role, giving the highest percentage of responses of the grades for the men's game to be on television, for the boys to get first choice of practice times, and against the women being able to earn money in sports. Percentages favoring both games to be on television and both teams to have equal choices of practice times generally increased by grade.

The females particularly differed from the males on the question of which volleyball game should be on television. Each sex gave the highest percentage of responses to its own gender and secondly to the opposite gender, but the females had a higher percentage of responses for the male gender than the males did for the female gender.

Rewards

It was the kindergarten and first grade children who once again showed a stronger support for the male role than did children of other grade levels, this time in relation to the man getting more money for winning a race and assigning a prize of greater value to the man. The total group did favor both the man and woman getting an equal amount of money and prizes of the same value; percentages for these responses increased by grade.

Females named the man to receive more money more often than the males named the woman to receive more money.

Blacks showed a stronger support for the male role by awarding more money to the man for winning a race, as compared to the Whites awarding equal amounts. Once again the Blacks responded "both" in lesser percentages than the Whites.

As can be noted in the previous statements, stereotyping was evidenced across all grade levels, sexes, and races. Only four of 24 questions had a majority of the total group responding without gender associations. These dealt with receiving a bicycle, allowing women to earn money in sports, naming prizes of the same value, and avoiding gender associations in the naming of prizes.

The findings of this study reflected and reinforced many of the same influences and factors pointed to in earlier research of children's attitudes toward sex roles. The findings of this study perhaps differed most from previous studies in the indications of a greater flexibility allowed the boy in choice of activity.

CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the data obtained and within the limitations of this study, the following conclusions were made:

1. There were significant differences by grade in the gender-related attitudes of elementary school children toward the acceptability of participation in various sports activities.
    a. Children in the primary grades made the greatest sex role differentiations, but attitudes across all grade levels reflected a predominantly male sex role association with sports activities.
    b. The responses indicating acceptability for participation by those of both genders increased in percentage by grade, showing that children in the upper elementary grades had somewhat more liberal attitudes than those in the lower grades.
    c. Children based their reasoning on questions of acceptability primarily on unqualified gender associations at every grade level except the sixth where the children were

divided between the unqualified gender association and no gender association categories.

d. Elementary school children viewed the male sex role in broader and more flexible ways than they did the female sex role.

2. There were significant differences by sex in the gender-related attitudes of elementary school children toward the acceptability of participation in sports activities. Where significant differences existed, both sexes showed more support for their own gender and were somewhat more liberal in attitudes toward their own gender role; however, the females tended to show more support for the opposite gender than males did.
3. There was no pattern of significant differences in gender-related attitudes among the races toward the acceptability of participation in sports activities.
4. There were significant differences by grade in the gender-related attitudes of elementary school children toward expectations of individuals participating in sports activities.

   a. The children in the primary grades reflected the highest regard for the superior ability of the male sex, but the attitudes of children across all grade levels reflected a superior ability association with the male in sports activities.

b. Children increasingly with grade became more liberal in their attitudes, recognizing that a person of either sex might be expected to excel or that both sexes should be treated equally in terms of opportunities and rewards.

c. Reasons for responses based on gender associations related to ability decreased by grade while reasons for responses related to no gender association increased by grade.

5. There were few significant differences by sex in the gender-related attitudes of elementary school children toward expectations of individuals participating in sports activities. The differences that were present reflected a stronger support of each sex for its own gender than for the opposite gender, but a greater tendency for the females to support the males than for the males to support the females.

6. There were significant differences by race in the gender-related attitudes of elementary school children toward expectations of individuals participating in sports activities.
    a. There was a tendency for the Blacks to respond in terms of one gender or the other, as opposed to stating that both genders might be equally capable or equally deserving of opportunity or reward.
    b. Black children had higher performance expectations of girls in the areas of swimming and jumping ability.
7. For questions related to acceptability, reasons for responses given by the total group were based on gender associations for a majority of the questions, reflecting strong gender-related attitudes and differentiations.
8. For questions related to expectations, reasons for responses given by the total group were in the no gender association category for a majority of the questions, reflecting more open attitudes toward both genders.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In the interest of further understanding of the development, status, and change of children's attitudes toward sex roles, research in the following areas seems warranted:

1. Extension of the grade levels included in the present study to determine attitudes of adolescents toward the acceptability and expectations of gender participation in sports activities.
2. Replication of the present study on a population from an area where girls interscholastic athletics have been well-established for a period of years to determine the effects of the athletic program on the attitudes of the children.
3. Replication of the study on an all Black population to determine the extent to which there may be more clearly differentiated sex role attitudes by the Blacks as compared to the White population.

4. Expansion of the variables studied to include comparisons of attitudes of children according to the work status of the mother.
5. Expansion of the variables studied to include comparisons of attitudes of children according to the socio-economic status of the parent(s).

APPENDIX

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

Copy of Letter Sent Prior to Interviewing

TO: Elementary Supervisors

FROM: James L. Doud, Elementary School Principal

Pat Geadelman will begin thesis research on the topic "Sex-Role Stereotyping in the Attitudes of Elementary School Students Toward Participation in Sports Activities" during the next few days. All laboratory school pupils in Kindergarten through the sixth grade will be individually interviewed for the study. The interviews will take from 8-10 minutes per pupil. Pat will consult with you the day before students are to be taken from your class for interviews to arrange for student interview times. Disruption will be kept as minimal as possible. Interview times will be scattered throughout the day and will be done in one of the rooms of the guidance office. It is hoped that all interviewing will be completed by mid-February. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

Instrument

Questions listed in order asked:

1. A girl named Sue is playing tennis against a boy named Mark. Who do you think might have the better chance to win? Why do you believe this?
2. Mary and Jim are asking for Christmas presents. Who do you think would like to receive rollerskates? Why? A football? Why? A bicycle? Why? Golf clubs? Why? A basketball? Why? A jump rope? Why?
3. Donna is a very good softball player, but the city does not have any teams for girls. Would it be all right for her to be on one of the boys' teams? Why do you feel this way?
4. Mike is the best piano player in the school. He is also a good football player, but he has decided not to play on the team. This will give him more time to practice the piano. Do you think this is a good decision for Mike? Why?
5. Mark is having a swimming race against Jill. Who would you expect to win? Why?
6. A boy named Tim does not want to be on the basketball team at school. Would it be all right for him to be a cheerleader? Why? A girl named Linda does not want to be on the basketball team at school. Would it be all right for her to be a cheerleader? Why?

7. Jack and Susie are having contests to see who can do some things better. Who do you think would be able to do the better cartwheel? Why? Throw the ball farther? Why? Run faster? Why? Jump higher? Why?

8. Jane is the best guitar player in the school. She is also a good softball player and has decided to quit playing the guitar so she can spend more time practicing softball. Do you think this is a good decision for her? Why?

9. The United States Men's Volleyball team is playing against the Japanese Men's Volleyball team at the same time that the United States Women's Volleyball team is playing against the Japanese Women's Volleyball team. Which game do you think should be on television? Why?

10. If you were going to choose four other people to be on your basketball team, would you choose all boys, all girls, or some boys and some girls? Why?

11. If your school had a girls basketball team and a boys basketball team, which one do you think should get first choice of practice times in the gym? Why?

12. John has won the race to be the fastest man runner in the country. Janet has won the race to be the fastest woman runner in the country. If money is given for winning, who should get more? Why? If

prizes are given, what should John get? Why? Janet? Why?

13. Some men earn money to live by being in sports. Do you think it would be all right for women to earn money to live by being in sports? Why?

14. When you are playing games with your friends, do both boys and girls play together? Can you name one game boys and girls can play together? Can you name a game boys and girls should not play together? Why did you choose these games?

Categorization of Questions for Analysis of Data

Acceptability: Kinds of Activities
Questions 2, 4, 6, 8

Acceptability: Mixed versus Separate Teams
Questions 3, 10, 14

Expectations: Ability and Success
Questions 1, 5, 7

Expectations: Opportunity
Questions 9, 11, 13

Expectations: Rewards
Question 12

Rationale for the Answers to Question 1: Who Would Win at Tennis

No Gender Association

- Either one--10
- Don't know how good they are and depends who's better--9
- Depends on who's been practicing and if they're good at it--3
- Whoever is trained the best--3
- Depends on how old they are--3
- Depends on who's been playing longer--2
- Depends on what kind of score or mark it is--1
- Girl is lighter and faster. Boy has stronger arms--1
- Depends on how good a tennis player they were--1
- Depends on who wants to play more, has more confidence, wants to win--1
- Depends on what they look like or how muscular they are--1

Unqualified Gender Association

- He's a boy--36
- He'd probably had more experience, practice--16
- Lots of women like to play tennis--8
- Boys always win--7
- Because she's a girl--6
- Girls practice--5
- Boys like sports--4
- Boys like to play tennis--3
- He might want to win--3
- Most girls that play usually win--1
- Boys do more with sports (he could play and practice)--1
- Some say boys play more rough games than girls--1
- Boys more active--1
- Some boys can run faster, girls don't usually like ball and that stuff--1
- He's a good champion--1

Qualified Gender Association: Ability

- Boys are stronger--39
- He's probably better--35
- She's better--13
- Boys are talented more (play better)--10
- Boy can hit harder--3
- Boys run faster--3
- He's bigger and he's taller--3
- Boys do more things than girls--3
- She's faster--2
- Boys are smarter--2
- Boys jump higher and get the ball--1

She's a good tennis player--1
She's biggest--1
Girls more talented in tennis--1
Girls jump higher--1
Boys more coordinated--1

Miscellaneous
Billie Jean King--6
I have a friend (brother) named Mark--3
He's older--3
Best player is Bobby Riggs and he's a boy--2
My sister's name is Sue and she's a pretty good tennis player--2
She (he) has a better name--2
Every time I play with my brothers they always win--1
I don't know how to play tennis (girl)--1
Cause she has a ball--1
Sometimes that happens--1
I'd like him to win--1
A girl beat me to a door-if you ever heard of women's lib--1

I Don't Know--43

Rationale for the Answers to Question 2: Who Would Like Rollerskates

No Gender Association
Both roller skate--33

Unqualified Gender Association
Girls like to roller skate--117
Boys like to skate--29
Girls skate more than boys--20
Boys don't roller skate often--13
She's a girl--11
She wants them--8
Boys usually like ball sports--6
Boys don't like to roller skate--5
Boys skate--5
He wants them--4
He wants to roller skate--3
He's a boy--2
Some sports for girls, some for boys, some for both--1
Fun to roller skate--1
Boys on the team--1
She'd probably have more fun cause Jim would have more (presents)--1
He'd have to be in athletic contests when older--1
He wouldn't want to roller skate in street--1

Qualified Gender Association: Ability
- She knows how to skate better--17
- He might know how to roller skate better--14

Miscellaneous
- Because I picked the other girl--1
- They're nice--1
- She likes presents--1
- She has enough money to buy them--1
- Cause of the roller derby or something like that--1
- I've skated before--1
- I like to roller skate--1
- I don't really like to roller skate that much--1
- My brother is always asking for skates and I never do--1
- I've got 4 cousins and one is a boy and he doesn't like to roller skate--1
- Because I got some at home and my mommy got 'em--1
- When I saw Dr. Max I saw Davie practicing on a 1-wheel skate--1
- One time Mikka used to like to roller skate--1

I Don't Know--17

Rationale for the Answers to Question 2: Who Would Like a Football

No Gender Association
- Depends on what they like to do--5

Unqualified Gender Association
- Boys play football--102
- Boys like to play football--63
- Usually boys play football and girls don't--25
- Girls don't like football--19
- Girls don't play football--19
- He's a boy--18
- It's a boys sport--16
- Boys play football, girls can't--9
- Boys like sports--5
- So he can play football--5
- Girls like dolls, etc.--4
- She likes to play football--2
- Girls play football--1
- Boys do more sports than girls--1

Qualified Gender Association: Ability
- Boys rough, more tough--7
- Boys play better--4
- Know how to play--4

Good player--1
Can catch it--1
Bigger--1

Miscellaneous
I like to play--4
I don't like to play football--1
They would watch it--1
Cause she's going to keep hitting--1

I Dont' Know--3

Rationale for the Answers to Question 2: Who Would Like a Bicycle

No Gender Association
Girls and boys ride bikes--119
Both like to ride bikes--52
Fun for both--7
Both want new bikes--3
Both want exercise--3
Both know how--3

Unqualified Gender Association
Girls like to ride bikes--34
Boys like to ride bikes--12
Boys ride bikes--6
Boys want bikes--5
So she can ride it--5
She wanted a bike--5
Girls like to ride more than boys--4
Boys have races--4
Boys ride more--4
He's a boy--3
Girls have bikes--3
Girls like exercise--2
He doesn't have one--1
Boys want older things--1
So he can ride and make his legs strong--1
The boy got to play baseball--1
Cause girls have big bicycles--1
So he could ride instead of walk, girls walk more than boys--1
Jim got the football and she wanted to be more active--1
He might already have a new bike and not ride one--1

Qualified Gender Association: Ability
Girls know how to ride bikes--3
Boys ride better--3

She can ride better--2
Boys can learn--1
Boys stronger legs--1
He knows how, friends have bikes--1
Girls more dainty, like to walk--1

Miscellaneous
I like to ride bikes and most everybody likes to--1
I like to ride my bike--1
Her brother doesn't like bicycles--1
Well, I have a big one at home--1
So he could ride to baseball--1
Girls don't have quite enough for bikes like boys do--1
So the girl can learn better and better--1
He can be on it some more--1
Because the boy wants to take it and the girl will scream--1
They (girls) can ride down to the store--1
She can ride with some friends--1
He met his friend playing with it--1
To ride her bike--1
She wants to take bicycle lessons--1

I Don't Know--11

Rationale for the Answers to Question 2: Who Would Like Golf Clubs

No Gender Association
Both can play--58

Unqualified Gender Association
He likes to play golf--106
Boys play more than girls--40
Men play golf, boys' sport--31
Not many girls play golf--14
He's a boy--9
Miscellaneous--6
Girls don't like to play golf--5
Girls like to play golf--3
Boys like sports--3

Qualified Gender Association: Ability
Boys are better than girls in golf (stronger, harder for girls)--12
Jim is a good player--4
Boys are big--1
She can play better golf than him--1

Miscellaneous
- Kids don't play golf--2
- Boys already had some--1
- She wants to have three things--1
- He's old enough--1
- She'd let the boys play with it--1
- Most kids don't know how--1
- Girl would keep winning the boy--1
- I don't know what golf clubs are--1

I Don't Know--15

Rationale for the Answers to Question 2: Who Would Like a Basketball

No Gender Association
- Both play basketball--37
- Both like basketball--28

Unqualified Gender Association
- He likes to play basketball--73
- Boys play basketball more than girls--46
- Boys play basketball--42
- It's a boys sport--28
- Girls don't play basketball--16
- He wants to play basketball--9
- He's a boy--5
- Girls like to play--3
- Girls want to play--2

Qualified Gender Association: Ability
- Boys play better than girls--11
- Boys know how to play basketball--10
- He's big enough--1
- Jim is a good player--1

Miscellaneous
- He'd let girls play with it--1
- He has a place to shoot the basketball at--1
- Cause the boy got the last one--1
- Girls already had some--1
- Girls like to sometimes, but he sounds like he really likes to--1
- I like to play basketball a lot (girl)--1
- Cause my Mom used to play basketball (girl)--1

Don't Know--4

Rationale for the Answers to Question 2: Who Would Like a Jump Rope

No Gender Association
- Both--10
- Some boys do, some don't; some girls do, some don't--2
- Both can get legs in shape--1
- Girls like, wrestling game for boys--1

Unqualified Gender Association
- Girls like to jump rope--91
- Girls jump rope--55
- Boys don't like to jump rope--43
- More girls like than boys--28
- Boys think it's sissy--15
- It's for girls--11
- She's a girl--7
- Girls want to jump rope--5
- Boys jump rope--5
- Girls jump rope with their friends--5
- Fun--2
- Don't get hurt--2
- Girls have more practice--1
- Contests--1

Qualified Gender Association: Ability
- Girls better than boys--17
- Girls know how--3
- Boys don't know how--2
- Girls have strength--1
- Boys don't have patience--1

Miscellaneous
- Completely unrelated--5

I Don't Know--5

Rationale for the Answers to Question 3: All Right for a Girl to Play on a Boys' Softball Team

No Gender Association
- To be fair--17
- Have seen it and done it--10
- Girls and boys can play together--9
- If she's better than boys and can help team--8
- She knows how to play--8
- Why not--7
- The same--6
- Girls can be as good as boys--6

- OK if no girls team--5
- OK--4
- Girls can play--3
- Should have the right--3
- Coach--2
- OK if city would allow--1

Unqualified Gender Rejection

- Against the rules--31
- A boys team, she isn't a boy--21
- Boys don't want her--18
- Girls on girls team, boys on boys--7
- Coaches don't want girls--3

Qualified Gender Rejection: Ability

- Boy more skilled--12
- She could get hurt--4
- Boys beat her up--3
- Boys might lose because of her--2
- Girl isn't strong--1

Qualified Gender Acceptance: Ability

- If she's good, she can play--53
- Women's lib--2

Qualified Gender Acceptance: By Others

- If short a player--7
- If coach accepts--7
- If boys accept her--5
- If good enough and boys want her--2
- Maybe they need a girl--1

Miscellaneous

- People might call team names--2
- They might like her--1
- She won't do nothing--1
- She' old enough--1
- She's lonesome playing by herself--1
- To have fun--1
- Nothing else to do--1
- Have them on a girls team--1
- Would take a boy's place--1
- Would have to let other girls in--1
- My uncle let me play--1
- Girls might win and boys lose--1
- She's sneaking in--1
- Wont' be even--1
- She should learn how to play softball--1
- I always play with boys--1
- Tomboy, let her play--1

I Don't Know--25

Rationale for the Answers to Question 4: All Right for Boy to Play Piano Instead of Football

No Gender Association: Acceptance
- He likes to play piano and that's OK--60
- If he wants to be good and practice piano--40
- If he's better at piano--10
- Can play football any time--9
- Can't do both--5
- Wants to learn to play piano--5
- If he likes piano but should have exercise too--2
- Maybe doesn't want to play football--2
- Can do both--2
- Would have instrument to play--1
- Doesn't make any difference--1

Unqualified Gender Rejection
- He'd like to play football--21
- Boys don't play piano, girls do--14
- He might not want to play FB--1
- He doesn't want to play piano--1

Gender Free Judgment: Activity Value
- Piano is life-time--31
- Football good for exercise--21
- You can get hurt playing football--12
- Football is good sport, better--11
- Piano more important--11
- Important for football team that he play--2
- More fun playing piano--2
- Would have good career at either--1

Gender Free Judgment: Specialization Rejection
- Can do both--15
- Needs to play football--6
- Should learn something besides piano--2

Miscellaneous
- He's a boy--1
- So when he goes to piano lessons his piano teacher won't get mad at him--1
- The teacher don't like that--1
- Maybe he would win and maybe he wouldn't--1
- Because boys take piano and girls do too--1
- You can quit any time you want--1
- If he were to go to a party he could play piano and then get invited to more parties--1

He teaches the girls how to play the piano--1
Cause he's supposed to play the piano--1

Don't Know--16

Rationale for the Answers to Question 5: Who Would Win a Swimming Race

No Gender Association
- Both could be good--51
- Depends on who is better--28
- Could be a tie--4

Unqualified Gender Association
- Girls like to swim--10
- Girls practice--6
- Boys like to swim--6
- Cause he's a boy--6
- Cause she's a girl--2

Qualified Gender Association: Ability
- Boys are faster--38
- Boys are stronger--33
- Girls are better swimmers--30
- Boys are better swimmers--29
- Girls are faster--20
- Depends on size--4
- Boys pretty good--4
- Girls as good as boys--2

Miscellaneous
- Our 5th grade Mark doesn't like swimming--1
- We had a swimming race today and I won--1
- Carla Tarr has long legs and can swim pretty fast--1
- I can't swim very good--1
- I have a friend named Mark--1
- I know this boy Mark and he's a good swimmer--1
- She's a famous swimmer--1
- I just choose Jill--1
- Because I like girls better--1
- I have a friend Jill--1
- He probably learned before she did or got a headstart--1
- Because you didn't pick that one yet--1
- She never winned anything--1
- She might get the most points--1
- Sometimes when my class goes swimming the boys put their heads in and go all the way across--1
- She wants to--1
- It sounds logical--1

- Usually boys win and a girl might win this time--1
- Some people swim faster with hardly no hair and girls have long hair--1

Don't Know--26

Rationale for the Answers to Question 6: All Right for Boy to be a Cheerleader?

No Gender Association
- There are boy cheerleaders--49
- If he wants to--30
- If they would let him--5
- Both boys and girls are cheerleaders--4
- If he doesn't want to, he doesn't have to--2
- Doesn't matter--2
- If he didn't have anything else to do--1
- Usually boys don't want to--1
- Cause it's a boys team--1
- To help the team--1

Unqualified Gender Association
- Girl's thing--95 "girls are cheerleaders"
- Boys aren't cheerleaders--40
- Would look dumb, sissy--20
- He's not a girl--17
- Should be on team--10
- Cause he's a boy--9
- Wouldn't be right, against rules--6
- Boys don't like cheerleading--4

Qualified Gender Association: Ability
- Wouldn't know how--6
- Probably stronger--2
- Because he might win--1
- He's too small--1
- He's the best boy--1

Miscellaneous
- Maybe if he was a yell leader--1
- His dad doesn't want him to--1
- The teacher wouldn't like that either--1
- Cause then he can learn how to play--1
- It would ruin his life--1
- He could sit up in chairs and stuff and cheer--1
- So he could lead the line--1
- He could be a panther or something--1

I Don't Know--10

Rationale for the Answers to Question 6: All Right for Girl to be a Cheerleader?

No Gender Association
    Both can do it--6
    She can do it if she really wants to--6

Unqualified Gender Association
    It's more usual for girls to be cheerleaders--111
    It's more normal for girls to be cheerleaders--78
    She's a girl--65

Qualified Gender Association: Ability
    Girls are good at it--10
    Girls are physically skillful at this--8
    She's too small--1
    She might get hurt--1

Miscellaneous
    Something she can do since she doesn't play basketball--7
    She's needed to support the team--5
    She's good with pom-poms--2
    She's good at cheering and noise--2
    She can be a leader--2
    The basketball team wouldn't want her--1
    They might get kicked out of the game--1
    Her mother would let her--1
    She gots to--1
    She could help the other girl cheerleaders--1
    Probably basketball would be best--1
    She had more experience with the teacher--1

I Don't Know--9

Rationale for the Answers to Question 7: Who Can Do Better the Cartwheel

No Gender Association
    Both good--14
    Depends on who took lessons--2
    Don't know how good either is--2

Unqualified Gender Association
    Girls like gymnastics better--47
    Most girls go to gymnastics--30
    Girls practice more--20
    She's a girl--17
    Most boys don't take gymnastics--15
    Girls do acrobatics--6

He does cartwheels--3
Boys like exercise--2
Some boys take acrobatics--1
He's a boy--1
Girls do things that boys don't--1

Qualified Gender Association: Ability
Girls are better than boys at acrobatics, cartwheels--64
Girls are good "at stuff like that"--17
Usually boys can't do them--16
Boys can do better--15
Girls are more coordinated, etc.--7
Girls are more limber--5
Boys are good acrobats--2

Miscellaneous
He might win--3
He's older--3
I just picked the boys--1
I just chose that one--1
She's probably get more luck with them--1
So she can get lots of exercise--1
She has the bestest friends--1
He drives better--1
Cause the girls act stupid--1
Sometimes girls can beat boys--1
It sounds like he has a better name--1
Just like Olga Korbut in the Olympics, she's a really good gymnast--1
Cause I can't do much of it--1
Cause I've got a friend who can--1
My sister can do it better than me--1
Because he's got floppier ears--1

Don't Know--11

Rationale for the Answers to Question 7: Who Can Throw Farther

No Gender Association
Either one--13
Depends on practice, interest--4
Both--2
It depends on how good your arm is--1
Both throw balls--1
Boys probably practice--1

Unqualified Gender Association
- Boys have more experience, practice--82
- Boys like to play baseball--15
- He's a boy--10
- Boys do that, girls don't--9
- She practices--2
- While Jack practiced cartwheel, she could practice throwing--1
- In some P.E. classes boys have throwing contests and girls have cartwheel contests--1

Qualified Gender Association: Ability
- Boys are stronger--70
- Boys are good throwers--63
- Boys are better, more talent--6
- Boys are bigger--6
- Girls can't throw--6
- She can throw farther--4
- Boys have more skill--4

Miscellaneous
- She looks prettier than the other people--1
- They first learned it before the girls--1
- Last time I said the girl--1
- Girls don't win sometimes--1
- The boy doesn't hit the bat right--1
- I just think he could--1
- Cause she wanted to--1
- My dad knows how to throw better than me--1
- He probably had a bigger brother who taught him--1
- My aunt was in a baseball game and hit a homerun--1

Don't Know--13

Rationale for the Answers to Question 7: Who Can Run Faster

No Gender Association
- Both could be good--102
- Depends on weight, how fast, etc.--4
- Some girls are faster than boys--3
- They can carry their legs--1

Unqualified Gender Association
- Boys had more practice, experience--49
- He's a boy--7
- Don't see girls run--2
- Girls play dolls, boys jog--a boy skill--2
- Some girls race--2

If the same, boy--1
Girl moves legs better in jump rope--1

Qualified Gender Association: Ability
Boys are faster than girls--54
Boys stronger--33
She runs faster--8
He has bigger, longer legs--7
Boys are good runners--4
She has longer legs--4
He's bigger--2
Boys beat girls--2
Both can run fast--2
He's be lighter--1
He has more energy--1
He doesn't get as tired--1
Just something boys are good at--1

Miscellaneous
Girls have fast tennis shoes--3
He might be wearing fast shoes--2
They probably eat a lot--1
He wants to win--1
She eats more than the boy--1
I can run fast in these boots--1
Maybe the girl is older and could run faster--1

Don't Know--12

Rationale for the Answers to Question 7: Who Can Jump Higher

No Gender Association
Both can jump--57
Nothing is different--11
Depends on strength, etc.--9
Both like to jump--4
It's be a tie--1
Girls jump rope and boys make baskets--1

Unqualified Gender Association
Boys have experience, practice--37
Girls like jump rope--33
She takes gymnastics, cheerleading, etc.--12
Girls have experience--6
She likes jumping--4
Boys can jump--4
Boys like to--3
He's a boy--3
He's more interested in athletics, has experience--3

Girls don't hardly jump over things--1
A boy's sport--1
Depends on who has most training--1
Most boys play basketball, girls cheerlead--1
She gets lot of exercise--1
She's a girl--1

Qualified Gender Association: Ability
Boys are stronger--25
Girls are good jumpers--20
He can jump higher--14
She's lighter--6
Boys are good--6
Girls know how to jump higher--4
Her legs might be longer--2
He's taller--2
She may have learned more--2
Boys can't jump higher than girls--1
Some boys don't try to jump that high--1
Susie can't jump that high--1

Miscellaneous
Boy has better shoes--2
She wants to win everything--1
Cause I picked the girl too many times--1
She sounds like she's lighter than Jack--1
Cause she has a nice name--1
Because I can't jump too high--1
She got her best friend to teacher her how to do it--1
In mat class I jumped over the thing and jumped the highest--1
I like men better than big boys and little girls--1

Don't Know--33

Rationale for the Answers to Question 8: All Right for Girl to Quit Guitar for Softball

No Gender Association
If she wants to play softball, OK--40
If she likes softball--26
Can practice and get better in softball--9
Can learn to play softball--5
Lot of girls softball teams--4
Can't do both--4
Tired of guitar--3
If better at softball--2
When finish softball play guitar--1
If she doesn't like guitar--1

OK--1
Can play guitar at home--1
No free time for softball if play guitar--1
Wants to be good and be on team--1
More experience for her--1
She'll have more time--1

Unqualified Gender Rejection
Boys play softball--13
It's for boys (softball)--7
Could get hurt--7
Girls play instruments--6
She's a girl--4
Guitar is better for her--3
Should practice guitar--2
No girls softball teams--2
Boys usually play guitars--2
Softball is more for girls--1
Wouldn't be good to play on boys team--1
She doesn't know how to play--1
Girls play softball but not TV--1
Might be on boys team--1

Gender Free Association: Activity Value Judgment
More exercise with softball--22
Guitar more valuable--21
She can have career in guitar--11
If she's good she should keep on--9
She'll learn more--8
Should practice more--6
Softball is better, good sport--6
Should play guitar--5
Shouldn't quit--4
Guitar goes on, softball doesn't--4
No future in softball--2
Team might need her--1
Team doesn't need her--1
Can learn guitar later--1
Can learn guitar easier--1
Might be famous playing softball--1

Gender Free Association: Specialization Rejection
Could do both--18

Miscellaneous
I'd rather play guitar--6
She might be old enough to do it--1
She might lose everything all the time--1
She knows how to throw carefully so she won't hit no one--1

- Maybe somebody bribed her into it and maybe she like guitar better--1
- She has to play softball or else be a bad sport--1
- Cause she has to play guitar to get lessons--1
- She doesn't like it--1
- On weekdays she could play softball any time but might forget how to play guitar--1
- When she goes for guitar lessons she might get in trouble and might make a mistake--1
- If she wants to be good in guitar she shouldn't play softball--1
- It's a girls team--1
- She hasn't played softball in years--1
- You have to practice your fingers every day for guitar--1
- She'd rather play--1
- I'd rather practice--1
- Her mom probably wants her to play guitar--1
- Music teacher wouldn't let her stop playing--1

Don't Know--21

Rationale for the Answers to Question 9: Which Volleyball Game Should be on Television

No Gender Association
- Both good teams--11
- Both doing the same thing--11
- People would like to watch both--11
- Both interesting (exciting)--7
- It's fair--6
- Both on different channels at same time--5
- People like to see who wins--4
- Women would watch women and men watch men--3
- Both play a lot--3
- Both would want to be on--3
- To give both a chance to be on--2
- It's probably a championship--1
- 1/2 hour have girls, and 1/2 hours the boys--1
- Both would do a tie--1
- Doesn't matter-could be either--1
- Should have either both or none--1
- Probably both would win--1

Unqualified Gender Association
- Boys do it more--9
- People like to watch girl's volleyball--3
- Girls do it more--3
- Girls don't play it--3

- More people watch men--2
- Girl's games aren't as important/no tournaments--1
- I'm a girl and they're a girl--1
- Cause the men would like to look at 'em--1
- It's more of a girls game--1
- Men like playing volleyball--1
- Girls should be cheerleaders for the boys--1
- You hear more about women volleyball players than you do about men--1
- We should see men play--1
- So men could get lots of exercise--1
- Men can be first if they want--1
- Cause I'm a boy--1
- Cause they're boys--1

Qualified Gender Association: Ability

- Boys are better--44
- Men are more interesting to watch--12
- Women are better--8
- Girls are more interesting to watch--6
- Men are stronger--5
- Men are faster--4
- Men are good volleyball players--3
- Boys throw better--2
- Girls move better--2
- Men are better on TV--2
- Men are more likely to win--2
- Women are good basketball players--1
- Girls are more complicated--1
- Girls can fight better--1
- Girls learned it before the men did--1
- Women's lib is getting real strong--1
- Men know more about volleyball--1
- Women would get more points--1
- Sometimes girls ain't that good in volleyball and it'd be exciting to see which team got the lead if both teams ain't so good--1

Favor Non-Typical

- Women don't get to be on much (men are always on) (women should have a chance)--52
- Women always get to be on TV for volleyball, men should get to--5
- Maybe some people would like to see women play--2
- I've never seen women on a volleyball team--1
- Lots of women don't play volleyball but it would be nice to have them on TV--1
- It's funnier to watch the women because you wouldn't think a woman could play that good--1

I'm for some things in women's lib and I think they should have equal opportunities. A lot of men's sports are on but not women's--1

Favor Typical Pattern
Men are usually on TV--16
There's more boys sports. They might as well keep on with them--1
They've had men's sports on TV longer--1
Usually men are in golf and everything--1

Miscellaneous
To see how women play--2
Women get in more neat fights--2
I like women's volleyball--1
I'm a girl I like women better--1
More fun to watch women--1
Like to watch girls fall down--1
Picked boys a lot of other time so pick girl--1
(Women because) men are too smart--1
Women can dance good--1
I like to watch men better--1
More fun to watch men--1
See what men can do--1
I like men--1
Men watch lots of footbally and girls don't--1

I Don't Know--21

Rationale for the Answers to Question 10: Who Would You Choose for Your Basketball Team

No Gender Association
Both on team--both can be good--74
Both can play--18
They're my friends--7
Variety--5
Better chance of winning--5
Good combination with both--2
Just better that way. If all girls got hurt, still have boys to make points--1
They'd keep their minds off playing around and goofing--1
It's be easier to play--1
People taller would be better--1
Probably girls can do better than boys--1
Some girls have good coordination--1
I might not like all girls and not like all boys--1

Some boys like girls and some don't--1
Usually it's just one kind--1

Unqualified Gender Association
Have all of one sex--11
I like boys--8
Girls don't like to play--6
Boys play more, experience, practice--5
I'm a boy--4
Both might like it--3
I don't like girls--3
I like girls--3
They're the same--2
Girls probably wouldn't want to be picked--1
Boys also nice--1
I don't like boys so much so just choose some--1
Usually boys don't want to play with girls--1
I don't just like having 4 people all the same--1
I'm more interested in girls basketball--1

Qualified Gender Association: Ability
Boys better--45
Girls aren't skilled--4
Boys stronger--3
Girls good--3
Girls get hurt--2
Boys too rough--1

Qualified Gender Association: Fairness and Equality
Wouldn't be fair--31
Give girls a chance--15
To be even--6
So boys won't win all the time--4
Pick both, girls aren't any good--3
Pick both so girls wouldn't get mad--2
Better to have men play with girls instead of against--1

Miscellaneous
To see how boys and girls get along--2
Would leave only boys to play against no girls--1
They could get lots of exercise too--1
Can't have just plain old girls and boys--1
Girls have long hair--1
I can't have too much girls and boys--1
Some boys should be in your group--1
It wouldn't make boys happy if you choose girls--1
Would be fair if boys could have turn then girls--1

Don't Know--16

Rationale for the Answers to Question 11: Who Gets First Choice of Practice Times in Gym

No Gender Association
- Both are important/should share equally--28
- Flip a coin--9
- Neither--3
- Whichever is the best team--2
- Schedule according to when each could make it--2
- Whoever acts better--1
- Whichever need more practice--1
- Decide together--1

Unqualified Gender Association
- Ladies go first--46
- Girls need more practice--18
- Boy first because they play the game more--12
- Boys go first--9
- Boys need more practice--8
- Girls first because not many girls teams--4
- I like girls--3
- Girls first because boys usually are first--3
- Girls like to play--2
- Boys need exercise--2
- I'm a girl--1
- I like boys--1
- Boys like to play--1
- Boys get it anyhow--1
- They don't do much working--1
- They just should because the boys always think they can do everything so good--1
- Boys should have more time--1
- Boys don't goof off--1
- Girls would be doing something else--1
- Maybe girls should--1
- Boys probably want to practice first and most girls don't care if they're first--1
- Boys would want to win the girls--1
- Girls haven't had very much time to practice because they're cooking and stuff--1
- Boys because they practice at home--1
- So they can play--1
- Girls if they're going to play other teams and if they're better--1
- Girls don't take that much time--1
- Girls can't wait very long--1
- Boys because the girls are doing their project--1

Qualified Gender Association: Ability
- Boys are better at it--25
- Boys are bigger, stronger or taller--9
- Boys know more about it--6
- Girls need more practice--3
- Boys are smarter--2
- Boys might win--2
- Girls always get beat up--1
- Boys are rougher--1

Quality Gender Association: Lack of Opportunity
- Boys practice at other times--18
- Girls are less experiences and need the practice--7
- It's new to girls--2
- Boys don't need as much practice--1

Value Judgment of the Game
- Boys play more games than girls--7
- Boys play harder teams--3
- Boys games are more popular with the public--3
- Boys play earlier in the year--3
- Boys work harder--2
- Boys would play better--2
- Boys games are more important--2
- Boys game more likely to be on TV--2
- Boys play longer--1

Miscellaneous
- Some boys are older--2
- Girls probably want to get it done--1
- Girls might be early--1
- Boys get tired easier at the end of the day--1
- Boys could go last and have more time--1
- If boys had a longer period of time, they could jump higher and probably want to go first--1
- Girls get fussy and say no fair if the boys got it--1
- I want them to be in there--1
- They would get practice faster--1
- If they have a short period, they boys could have another period--1
- Boys wouldn't have to practice as much, so they could go first--1
- For TV boys need more time and should go second--1
- Girls get more time then--1
- So the girls can take a look at how the men play basketball--1

I Don't Know and Missing Data--32

Rationale for the Answers to Question 12: Who Should Bet More Money for Winning Race

No Gender Association

No difference--fair, both fast--145

Unqualified Gender Association

She should get more--7
Girls buy more--6
Men more experienced--6
More opportunities for men--5
Men need more money--4
He's a man--2
Wife-married if man--2
Women don't get very much money--1
Cause he was racing--1
She might earn it--1
Sometime boys get lots of money--1
Cause most men get bigger fees and Janet should get same--1

Qualified Gender Association: Ability

Men run faster--64
She might run faster--20
He stronger--5
Men do harder work--3
Racing a boy harder than racing a girl--2

Qualified Gender Association: Atypical Achievement

Usually girls don't run as fast--18
They done more work--1
If she's running against someone she doesn't know I think she should get more money--1

Miscellaneous

Sounds like he was 1st and she 2nd--1
Think boy is older than girl--1
I like girls better--1
I like 'em--1
I have 2 friends named John--1
I like money--1
She's the boss around the girls--1
Because she started off first--1

Don't Know--18

Question 12: Nature of Prizes Awarded
Same Prizes for Man and Woman

Trophy	97	Book	1
Cars	19	Souvenirs	1
Medal	8	Something for track	1
Bike	7	Basketball	1
Trips	7	Gold stop watch	1
Track shoes	5	Gold shoe	1
Cups	3	Watch	1
Tennis shoes	3	Bronze	1
Jogging suit track	3	Motorcycle	1
New house	1	Clothes	1
A star	1	Dog	1

Question 12: Nature of Prizes Awarded
Different Prizes--Boys

Car	21	Football helmet	1
Trophy	21	T shirt	1
Football	20	Electric train	1
Basketball	10	Lady	1
Bike	10	G I Joe	1
Motorcycle	7	Drum	1
Baseball (softball)	5	Don't know	1
Hunting equipment (gun)	5	Dog	1
Candy	4	B B gun	
Walkie talkie	2	Ice cream cone machine	1
Guitar	2	Roller skates	1
Tennis shoes	2	Typewriter	1
Golf clubs	2	Ath. s ?????	1
Big truck	2	Living room set	1
Airplane	2	Ice skates	1
Medal	2	Pro football tickets	1
Hot rod	2	House	1
Clothes	2	Bowling ball	1
Ring	1	A track	1
Track shoes	1	First place trophy	1
Magic stick	1	TV and stereo	1
T.V. set	1	Car and round world trip	1
Baseball bat	1	Missing data	1
Organ	1	Sports su???	1
Hot wheel truck	1		

Question 12: Nature of Prizes Awarded
Different Prizes--Girls

Doll	36
Bike	14
Cloths	11
Earrings	8
Ribbon	6
Jump rope	5
Skates	5
Dishwasher	4
Car	4
Trophy	4
Medal	3
Vacation (?)	3
House	3
2nd place trophy	3
Pot and pans	2
Ice skates	2
Basketball	2
Radio	2
Perfume	2
Piano	2
Tennis racket	1
Furs and mink	1
Bedroom set	1
Kitchen sink	1
Kitchen	1
Washer and dryer	1
Purse	1
Jump rope	1
Tag for shirt	1
Kitten	1
Nightgown	1
Cowgirl and horse	1
Shoes	1
Dog	1
Color T.V.	1
Typewriter	1
Furniture	1
Tennis court	1
Free swimming lessons	1
Horse	1
New running shoes	1
Guitar	1
Motorcycle	1
Comb, brush, mirror	1
Sports equipment	1
Money	1
Paint	1
Paper	1
Missing data	1
Trophy bigger than boys	1
Pool table	1

Rationale for the Answers to Question 13:
All Right for Women to Earn
Money in Sports

No Gender Association
- The same--144
- Women in sports now--25
- Should have equal chance--23
- Because they want to--3
- Because men can work--1
- Not if there's a law against it--1
- Just women's lib--1
- If there's something to do in women's sports--1
- If they could do it right--1
- Would give them something better to do--1
- So they can be on a team--1

Unqualified Gender Association
- Women don't do sports, work in home--5
- Boys do that--4

Women to get exercise--4
Don't need to, should work somewhere else--3
Should stay home if married--2
I just think they could--1
Men get more exercise than women--1
They don't like sports--1
When he comes home he can give some to his wife--1
Probably wouldn't unless roller or ice skating--1

Qualified Gender Association: Ability
Women aren't as good--10
Women weaker--1
Get hurt easily--1

Qualified Gender Association: Financial Need
They need money too--24
It's a job--7
If that's the only way to earn money--4
So they can get money--4
Maybe the work harder--1
Don't get paid enough allowance by husband--1
Nice to go out and earn money--1

Miscellaneous
Sometimes give prizes--2
They could go swimming--1
Cause Billie Jean King does--1
I like to ride bikes--1
This girl broke her back riding a motorbike and got lot of money--1
Most women just clean house all the time--1
When she won she got money probably--1
Because they're the nicest--1
If they're single, yes. If they have house, kids, husband think should be there to take care of them--1
If they play tennis and make lot of money, can't think they need to, they don't have to--1
The boys can and if boys don't want to, girls can take over--1
It wouldn't hurt em--1

Don't Know--29

Question 14: Games Boys and Girls Can Play Together

Soccer	55
Hide and seek	31
Volleyball	29
Kick ball	29
Tag (freeze)	20
Basketball	20
Softball	11
Baseball	11
Kick can	9
Football	8
Tennis	6
Pom pom pull away	6
Farmer in Dell	5
Duck duck gray goose	4
Horse	4
Bombardment	4
Catch	3
Jump rope	3
Ring round rosie	3
Monopoly	3
Running	2
Candy land	2
Hopscotch	2
Checkers	2
Whiffle ball	2
Four square	2
Ball	1
Don't know	1
Fighting	1
Boys catch girls	1
Drop Hankie	1
Bicycling	1
Play with flirtes	1
Tic Tac Toe	1
Headache	1
Hi O Cherry O	1
Ball	1
Aggravation	1
Jack o knees	1
Yogi Bear	1
Sony	1
Gost Ghost	1
Jackson 5 Game	1
Girls chase boys	1
Chase the girls	1
Red light green light	1
Racing	1
Shoots and ladders	1
Cards	1
Tag and war	1
Stay alive	1
Swimming	1
A B C	1
Hot potato	1
Bragons mouth	1
Twister	1
Follow leader	1
Green ghost	1
Dodge ball	1
Musical chairs	1
Witching hour	1
Croquet	1
Racing	1
Jack and Jill went up the hill	1
Missing date	1
Steal stick	1
Traveling rings	1

Question 14: Games Boys and Girls Should Play Separately

Football	93
None	92
Basketball	26
Jump rope	15
Baseball	12
Bombardment	12
Dolls	10
Hopscotch	6
House	5
Volleyball	4
Can't think of any	3
Wrestling	3
Hockey	2
Car games	2
Softball	2
Don't know	1
Chasing girls	1
Fighting	1
Acrobat Stunts	1
Mowing lawn-boys, soap operas-girls	1
Most games	1
Looking through book	1
Dolls	1
Handball	1
Mud fights	1
Tension games	1
Marbles	1
Hockey	1
Rubber Ducky	1
Cowboys and Indians	1
Kick ball	1
Piano songs	1
Racing	1
Basketball-girls, football-boys	1
Soccer	1
Horse racing	1
Tag	1
Poker	1
Boxing	1
Roller skating	1
Missing Date	1
Running	1
Four square	1
Swim competition	1
Girls basketball	1
Chase the cat	1
Jacks	1
Cops and robbers	1

Rationale for the Answers to Question 14: Why Did You Choose These Games

No Gender Association:
All can play the same games--91

Unqualified Gender Association:
Girls don't like to, or don't want to play . . .--15
Football, basketball is for boys--10
Boys don't like house, dolls--10
Boys don't jump rope, hopscotch--10
Boys and girls shouldn't play together--10
That's only for girls (dolls, house, jump rope, hopscotch)--10
Boys don't play that--9
Misc.--7
Girls like to play other games--6
It's a men's sport--4

Qualified Gender Association: Ability
- Boys are rough, girls might get hurt--84
- Girls aren't good enough, don't know how--19
- Boys are stronger, better players--16

Miscellaneous
- They're prejudiced and don't play fair, yell and fight--3
- They have different rules--1
- Chasing girls is not a good game--1

I Don't Know and Missing Data--11

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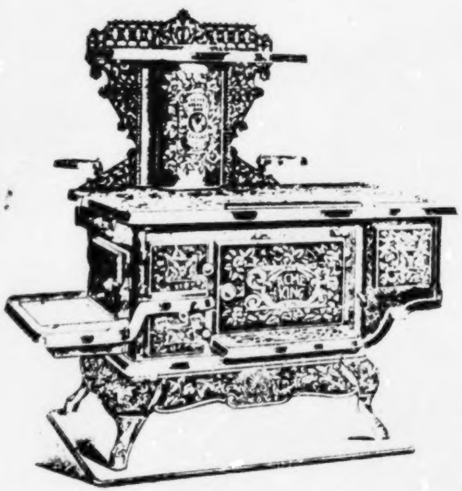

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